

MEMOIRS OF BABER



MEMOIRS OF BABER EMPEROR OF INDIA FIRST OF THE GREAT MOGHULS

BEING AN ABRIDGMENT
WITH AN INTRODUCTION, SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES, AND
SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS SUCCESSORS

BY
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PREFACE

THE Memoirs of Baber, written by himself, were translated into English by John Leyden and William Erskine, and were published in 1826, but the book has been out of print for many years, and the Memoirs are, therefore, practically unknown.

Any value there may be in this abridgment is due to the original translators. In the original Memoirs there are some repetitions and minute descriptions of secondary characters, and some of these have been omitted. In one instance only, and then very slightly, has the translation been varied, but the dates have been given according to the Christian instead of the Mahomedan era.

The illustrations are reproduced from the paintings in the old Persian manuscript in the British Museum. These paintings are by Hindu and Persian artists, who were contemporary with Baber, and as there is a remarkable resemblance between the portraits in all the pictures the likeness of that Emperor may be considered to be authentic.

For the concluding chapter on the Great Moghuls the Editor is much indebted to Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole and the delegates of the Clarendon Press for permission to quote from that author's *Baber*. He has also relied

for information on Mrs F. A. Steel's *India Through the Ages*, Colonel Malleeson's *Akbar*, and Mr Stanley Lane-Poole's *Aurangzeb*, in the 'Rulers of India Series,' and on other books.

The Editor desires to express his thanks to Sir Adelbert Talbot, K.C.I.E., for translation of the Persian manuscript of the Memoirs in the British Museum, and to Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., and W Basil Worsfold, Esq., for their kind advice and criticism

The mediæval history of India synchronises with the Mahomedan rule, and with the advent of the British the history of modern India begins, but the student who wishes to become acquainted with the conditions of the India of to-day can probably hardly do better than begin by reading the *Memoirs of Baber*.

The autobiography speaks for itself It has been said to 'rank with the Confessions of St Augustine and Rousseau, and the Memoirs of Gibbon and Newton' In Asia it stands alone

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INTRODUCTORY

MAHOMED BABER was of the House and lineage of Tamerlane, or Taimur, being sixth in descent from that 'Scourge of Asia,' and in the female line he was descended from that other scourge, Chengiz Khan the Moghul

It is curious that the dynasty which Baber founded should be known as that of the 'Moghuls,' for he himself detested that race, but since the days of Chengiz Khan, all invaders from the North have been known in India as 'Moghuls'

Baber was only in his twelfth year when he succeeded to the throne of Ferghana, known also as Khokand, a small kingdom on the eastern border of Persia, of which Andijan was the capital

Umer Sheikh Mirza, the father of Baber, was an ambitious man, constantly trying to increase his dominions, and at the time of his death, from the effects of an accident, he was actually besieged in his fortress-castle of Akhsi. Baber was at the moment at Andijan, thirty-six miles distant, on which the enemy immediately advanced, but Baber promptly seized the citadel and opened negotiations, and as there was much jealousy in the hostile camp, he eventually succeeded in saving the greater part of the country of Ferghana, though he lost the three most important towns of Khojend, Marghinan, and Uratipa.

For the first three years of his reign he had the advice of his brave old grandmother, but she then died, and he was left absolutely to his own resources, yet for some years he

continued to consolidate his kingdom, watching his opportunities, and playing off faction against faction.

It seems incredible that so much should have been achieved by a mere boy, but in the East men mature young, and one is apt to forget, in reading the Memoirs, the youthfulness of the writer

His youth was passed in trying to restore the empire of his ancestors in Central Asia, in which to some extent he succeeded, but eventually he was driven out of the whole of these dominions, whereupon he turned south and made himself King of Kabul

Here he occupied himself in laying out gardens, planting orchards, and digging wells, but from these peaceful pursuits he was summoned by an invitation to invade the country south of the Jhelum, and so for the first time he set foot in India

Baber made five invasions of India, which he finally conquered at the age of forty-three, and in his forty-eighth year he died

The most romantic figure, and, perhaps, the most complex character in Indian history stands revealed in these memoirs. Soldier, statesman, philosopher, a hunter of big game, Baber was also a Persian poet of no mean order, and in his native Turki a master of prose and verse, and his descriptions of his country and of the people who composed his father's court are those of a born artist.

He was a devoted lover of nature—knew every animal, bird, and flower, the habits of bird and beast, and where and how they are to be caught, and at the end of the Memoirs he gives a list of the fauna and flora of India

All through his life of adventure his chief delight was gardening, and curiously interspersed with records of fighting we find such entries as, 'I have now seen thirty-four different kinds of tulips in India' Again in India, when a nearly successful attempt to poison him had been made, the taster was cut to pieces, the cook was flayed alive, and

He then sent for all the gold and silver drinking cups, had them broken in the middle of the camp, and the wine poured out on the ground. He never touched wine again.

Baber must have possessed great personal charm, which attached people to him even in his darkest days, and in truth he was an ideal leader of men. Endowed with immense strength and endurance, and a strict disciplinarian, he yet had innate kindness of heart. He allowed no plundering—the Koh-i-nur was given to him at Agra for having saved that town from pillage—and on one occasion, when a camp had been raided, he gave orders that everything should be restored, and ‘such was the discipline of the army that before the end of the first watch next day there was not a piece of thread or a broken needle that was not restored to its owner’.

One incident in the terrible march of his army across the mountains in winter will appeal to every Englishman. One night they were caught in a blizzard at the top of a pass. ‘We reached a small cave, I took a hoe and dug in the snow breast-deep. In this hole I sat. They begged me to go inside, but I would not. I felt that for me to be in shelter and comfort whilst my men were in the snow was not to do my duty by them. In the morning I found four inches of snow on my head, that night I got earache’.

Later on he writes, ‘It was terribly cold, and the wind from the desert blew keen. I had to bathe for religious purification, and went down to a stream that was frozen at the banks but not in the middle, by reason of the current. I plunged in and dived sixteen times, but the chill cut through me’.

He swam every river between Cabul and Agra, including the Ganges.

The Memoirs are packed with hair-breadth escapes. Once having been captured, he lay awake at night feigning sleep, and listened to his captors deciding that he should be killed, and plotting how to seize and throttle him. He remarked, ‘All that you say is true, I am only wondering

which of you will dare to attack me first' His escape on that occasion reads like a page of the *Arabian Nights*

Baber bore no malice against kith or kin, time after time he forgave treachery in his own household, notably that of his brother and step-grandmother at Kabul The account of his reception of the traitors on this occasion, all of whom must have expected instant execution, is very curious But towards enemies of Islam he showed no mercy.

He has been much blamed for the massacre of Bajaur, a fort which he took on his first entry into India after the defenders had made strenuous resistance with bows and arrows against matchlocks.

The Memoirs record, 'As the men of Bajaur were rebels—rebels to the followers of Islam, while even the name of Islam was extirpated among them—they were all put to the sword Upwards of 3000 were killed.' But it should be remembered that much the same thing was done in Europe at this period, as also in the best periods of Greek and Roman civilisation, that the Jews in their wars frequently spared neither age, nor sex, nor beast of the field, and that even to-day soldiers who defend a defenceless position to the last have certainly no right to expect quarter

The great conqueror of Northern India died at Agra in 1530, and was succeeded in the direct line by six 'Great Moghuls,' one of whom at least has left an imperishable name in history; and though the dynasty lasted only three hundred years, it effected the consolidation of the greater part of India, and laid the foundations and prepared the way for the wondrous work which England was destined to accomplish.

The following account of the Memoirs is from Mr Stanley Lane-Poole's introduction to *Baber*

The Memoirs contain the personal impressions and acute reflections of a cultivated man of the world, well read in Eastern literature, a close and curious observer, quick in

perception, a discerning judge of persons, and a devoted lover of nature, one, moreover, who was well able to express his thoughts and observations in clear and vigorous language. The shrewd comments and lively impressions which break in upon the narrative give Baber's reminiscences a unique and penetrating flavour. The man's own character is so fresh and buoyant, so free from convention and cant, so rich in hope, courage, resolve, and at the same time so warm and friendly, so very human, that it conquers one's admiring sympathy. The utter frankness of self-revelation, the unconscious portraiture of all his virtues and follies, his obvious truthfulness and fine sense of honour, give the *Memoirs* an authority which is equal to their charm. If ever there were a case when the testimony of a single historical document, unsupported by other evidence, should be accepted as sufficient proof, it is the case with Baber's *Memoirs*. No reader of this prince of autobiographers can doubt his honesty or his competence as witness and chronicler.

Very little is known about the manner in which they were composed. That they were written at different dates, begun at one time and taken up again after long intervals, as leisure or inclination suggested, is to be inferred from the sudden way in which they break off, generally at a peculiarly critical moment, to be resumed without a word of explanation at a point several years later. The style, moreover, of the later portions is markedly different from that of the earlier, whilst the earlier portions bear internal evidence of revision at a later date. The natural (though conjectural) inference is that the *Memoirs* were written at various dates, that the earlier part was revised and enlarged after Baber's invasion of India, though memory failed or time was wanting to fill the gaps, and that the later part remains in its original form of a rough diary because its author died before he had leisure or energy to revise it. The *Memoirs* were written in Turki, Baber's native tongue.

The Memoirs were more than once translated from Turki into Persian. . . The close agreement even in trifling details of the various Turki and Persian manuscripts preserved in several collections, shows that the original text has been faithfully respected .

This comparison of two versions founded upon several manuscripts written in two languages brings us to the remarkable conclusion that Baber's Memoirs have come through the ordeals of translation and transcription practically unchanged. We possess, in effect, the *ipsissima verba* of an autobiography written early in the sixteenth century by one of the most interesting and famous men of all Asia. It is a literary fact of no little importance. The power and pomp of Baber's dynasty are gone, the record of his life—the *littera scripta* that mocks at time—remains unaltered and imperishable.

MEMOIRS OF BABER

IN the month of Ramzân, in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-four, and in the twelfth year of my age, I became King of Ferghana

The country of Ferghana is situated on the extreme boundary of the habitable world. It is of small extent, and is surrounded with hills on all sides except the west.

The country abounds in grains and fruits, its grapes and melons are excellent and plentiful, and it is noted for pomegranates and apricots. The people have a way of taking the stones out of the apricot and putting in almonds in their place, which is very pleasant.

It is abundantly supplied with running water, and is extremely pleasant in spring.

There are many gardens overlooking the rivers where tulips and roses grow in great profusion, and there are meadows of clover, sheltered and pleasant, where travellers love to rest. They are called the mantle of lambskins.

It abounds in birds and beasts of game, its pheasants are so fat that four persons may dine on one and not finish it, and the game and venison are excellent.

It is a good sporting country, the white deer, mountain goat, stag, and hare are found in great plenty, and there is good hunting and hawking.

In the hills are mines of turquoises, and in the valleys people weave cloth of a purple colour.

The revenues of Ferghana suffice to maintain 4000 troops.

My father, Omer-Sheikh-Mirza, was a prince of high

ambition and magnificent pretensions, and was always bent on some scheme of conquest. He several times led an army against Samarkand, and was repeatedly defeated.

At this time, 1494, the Sultan Mahomed Khan and the Sultan Ahmed Mirza, having taken offence at his conduct, concluded an alliance, and one marched an army from the north, the other from the south, against his dominions.

At this crisis a singular incident occurred. The Fort of Akhsi is situated on a steep precipice, on the edge of which some of its buildings are raised.

On the fourth day of Ramzân, 1494, my father was engaged in feeding his pigeons, when the platform slipped, precipitating him from the top of the rock, and with his pigeons and pigeon-house he took his flight to the other world.

My father was of low stature, had a short bushy beard, and was fat. He used to wear his tunic extremely tight, insomuch that as he was wont to contract his waist when he tied the strings, when he let himself out again the strings often burst. He was not particular in food or dress, and wore his turban without folds, allowing the ends to hang down. His generosity was large, and so was his whole soul, yet brave withal and manly. He was only a middling shot with the bow, but had uncommon force with his fists, and never hit a man without knocking him flat to the ground.

He was a humane man, and played a great deal at backgammon.

He had three sons and five daughters. Of the sons, I, Mahomed Baber, was the eldest.

My mother was Kutlak Khanum

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Of his Amîrs one was Taimurtâsh, Master of his Household, who was only about twenty-five years of age, but, young as he was, his method, his arrangements, and

regulations were excellent Two years afterwards he was slain in battle, and this intelligence being transmitted express, the messenger accomplished the distance, 500 miles, on horseback in four days

Another of his Amîrs was Hafez Beg, who before I took Kâbul had set out by way of Hind with the intention of making a pilgrimage to Mekka, but, on the road, he departed to the mercy of God He was a plain, unassuming man, of few words, and not very profound.

Hussein Beg was a good-humoured man, of plain, simple manners, and excelled in singing at drinking parties

Mazîd Beg was first appointed my governor, his arrangements and discipline were excellent, and no man stood higher in the esteem of my father than himself, but he was of grossly libidinous habits.

Alî Mazîd was another He was a libidinous, treacherous, good-for-nothing hypocrite

Another was Hassan Yâkûb, who was frank, good-tempered, clever, and active The following verses are his :—

‘Return again, O Hûma, for without the parrot down of thy cheek,
The crow will assuredly soon carry off my bones’

He was a man of courage, an excellent archer, and remarkable for his skill in playing polo and leap-frog After the death of my father he became Master of my Household He was, however, narrow-minded, of small capacity, and a promoter of dissension.

Kâsim Beg succeeded Hassan Beg as Master of the Household, and as long as he lived, his power and consequence with me went on increasing uninterruptedly He was a brave man, and on one occasion, a party of Uzbeks having ravaged the country, were on their retreat, when he pursued, overtook, engaged, and gave them a severe defeat He had also distinguished himself by his gallant use of his scimitar Afterwards, on my return to Kâbul

I appointed him governor to my son, Humâyûn. He was received into the mercy of God about the time I reduced the Zemîn. He was a pious, religious, faithful Moslem, who carefully abstained from all doubtful meats and whose judgment and talents were uncommonly good. He was of a facetious turn, and though he could neither read nor write, had an ingenious and elegant vein of wit.

Another was Baba Kûli Beg, who was afterwards appointed my governor. He was remarkable for maintaining his troops in good order, and with excellent equipments. He kept a watchful eye over his servants, but neither prayed nor fasted, and was cruel, and like an infidel in his whole deportment.

Another was Ali Dost Taghai, who was of the Beks of the Tumans, and related to my maternal grandmother, Ihsan-doulet-Begum. I was told that he would be a useful man, and showed him great favour; but during all the years that he was with me, I cannot tell what service he ever did. He pretended to be a magician. He was Grand Huntsman, and was a man of disagreeable manners and habits, covetous, mean, seditious, insincere, self-conceited, harsh of speech, and sour of visage.

Laghari was another: a man of excellent understanding and talents, but a little disposed to be factious.

Mîr Ghiâs Taghai, the Great Seal, was an extremely witty and jocose man, but reckless in debauchery.

Ali Dervîsh, a native of Khorasân, was a brave man. He wrote the Nastâlik character after a fashion. He was, however, a gross flatterer, and sordidly mean and miserly.

Kamber Ali, Moghul, was another. When his father came to the country, he for some time exercised the trade of a skinner, whence he got the name of the skinner. From me he received distinguished favours. Till he had attained high rank, his conduct was exceedingly good; but, after he had gained a certain elevation, he became negligent and

Meanwhile Sultan Ahmed Mirza, after having made two or three marches on his return home, fell very ill, and being seized with a burning fever, departed from this transitory world in the forty-fourth year of his age.

He was tall, of a ruddy complexion, and corpulent; he had a beard on the fore-part of the chin, but none on the lower part of the cheek, and was a man of extremely pleasant manners.

He was strictly attached to the Hanifah sect, was a true and orthodox believer, and unfailingly observed the five stated daily prayers, nor did he neglect them even when engaged in drinking parties. He was attached to Khwâjeh Abîd-ûlla, who was his religious instructor and guide, and though polite and ceremonious at all times, he was particularly so in his intercourse with the Khwâjeh; insomuch that they say that, while in company with him, however long they sat, he never changed the position of his knees, by shifting the one over the other, except in one instance, when, contrary to his usual practice, he rested the one knee on the other. After the Mirza rose, the Khwâjeh desired them to examine what there was particular in the place in which the Mirza had been seated, when they found a bone lying there.

He had never read much, and, though brought up in the city, was illiterate and unrefined. He was a plain, honest Turk, not favoured by genius, but was, however, a just man, and as he always consulted the reverend Khwâjeh in affairs of importance, he generally acted in conformity to the law. He was true to his promises, and faithful to his compacts or treaties, from which he never swerved. He was brave, and though he never happened to be engaged hand to hand in close combat, yet they say that in several actions he showed proofs of courage. He excelled in archery and was a good marksman, with his arrows and forked arrows he generally hit the mark, and in riding from one side of the exercise-ground to the other, he used

to hit the brazen basin several times. Latterly, when he became very corpulent, he took to bringing down pheasants and quails with the goshawks, and seldom failed. He was fond of hawking, and was particularly skilled in flying the hawk, an amusement which he frequently practised. If you except Ulugh Beg, there was no other king who equalled him in field-sports. He was singularly observant of decorum, insomuch that it is said, that even in private, before his own people and nearest relations, he never uncovered his feet. Whenever he took to drinking wine, he would drink without intermission for twenty or thirty days at a stretch, and then he would not taste wine for the next twenty or thirty days. In his social parties he would sometimes sit day and night, and drink profusely, on the days when he did not drink, he ate pungent substances. He was naturally of a penurious disposition, was a simple man, of few words, and entirely guided by his Begs.

He had two sons, who died young, and five daughters, of whom the third, Aisha Begum, was betrothed to me when I visited Samarkand at the age of five years. She afterwards came to Khojend during the troubles, when I married her, I had one daughter by her. The youngest of all his daughters was Maasûmeh Begum. I saw her when I went to Khorasân, and, being pleased with her, asked her in marriage, and carried her to Kâbul, where I married her. I had by her one daughter, at the time of whose birth she was taken ill in child-bed, and was united to the mercy of God.

Of his wives and ladies, one was Katak Begum, whom Sultan Ahmed Mirza married for love, and to whom he was prodigiously attached, but she governed him with absolute sway. She drank wine, and, during her life, the Sultan durst not venture to frequent any other of his ladies. At last, however, he put her to death, and delivered himself from his reproach.

‘A bad wife in a good man’s house,
Even in this world makes hell on earth.’

Of his Emirs, one was Jâni Beg, who was a man of singular habits and manners, and many strange stories are related of him. Among these it is said that, when he held the government of Samaukand, an ambassador came from the Uzbeks, who was famous among them for his strength. The Uzbeks call a very stout champion *Bûkeh*. Jâni Beg asked him, 'Why do they call you Bûkeh? If you are a *Bûkeh*, come let us have a set-to.' The ambassador, do what he would, was unable to get off. Jâni Beg grappled with the Uzbek, and threw him. Jâni Beg was a man of perfect courage.

Another of his nobles was Ahmed Beg, who was the author of a poem, and was no mean poet. The following is his :—

'Let me alone to-day, my good judge, for I am tipsy,
Call me to account some other time, when you catch me sober.'

He was an admirable horseman and kept excellent horses, which he bred himself. Though a brave man, his generalship was not equal to his courage. He was careless, and left the conduct of his affairs and enterprises to his servants and dependents. He was taken prisoner in Bohhâra and shamefully put to death.

Another of his officers was Mahomed Teikhân, a good Moslem, of religious habits, and simple manners, who was constantly reading the Koran. He was very fond of chess, and played much and well. He was extremely skilful in falconry and excelled in flying his hawks.

Another was Abdal Ali Teikhân. Though Mahomed Teikhân was his superior, not only according to the customs and rules of the tribe, but in rank and estimation, yet this haughty Pharaoh pretended to look down upon him. For some years he possessed the government of Bokhâra, when his servants amounted to three thousand. He maintained them well and handsomely. His information and intelligence, his forms of judicial investigation, his court, his

suite, his entertainments and levées, were all quite princely. He was a strict disciplinarian, tyrannical, lascivious, and haughty.

Bâkî Terkhân was another. In the time of Sultan Ali Mirza, he rose to great consequence, his retainers amounting to five or six thousand. He was far from being in a proper state of subjection or obedience to Sultan Ali Mirza. He was very fond of hawking, and is said to have had seven hundred falcons at one time. His manners and habits were such as cannot well be described, he was educated and grew up in the midst of magnificence and state.

Sultan Mahmûd Mirza now mounted the throne of Samarkand. He soon, however, by some of his proceedings, disgusted both high and low, soldiery and subjects, who began to fall off from him. The first of these offensive acts regarded Mahomed Mirza, his own son-in-law, whom he murdered. Another circumstance which added to his unpopularity was, that though his plan of government and general arrangements were laudable, and though he was naturally just, and qualified to direct the concerns of the revenue, being well versed in the science of arithmetic, yet his temper had something in it tyrannical and profligate. Immediately on his arrival at Samarkand, he began arranging, on a new system, the whole of the regulations of government, including the expenditure and taxes.

What added to these evils was, that, as the Prince himself was tyrannical and debauched, his Beks and servants all faithfully imitated his example. The men of Hissâr, and particularly the body of troops that followed Khosrou Shah, were constantly engaged in debauchery and drinking, and to such a length did matters go, that when one of Khosrou Shah's retainers had seized and carried off another man's wife by force, on the husband's coming with a complaint to Khosrou Shah, he received for answer—'You have had her for a great many years, it is certainly but fair that he should now have her for a few days.' Another circumstance which

disgusted the inhabitants was, that none of the townsmen or shopkeepers, and not even the Túrks and soldiers, could leave their houses, from a dread lest their children should be carried off for slaves. The people of Samarkand, who, for twenty-five years, during the reign of Sultan Ahmed Mirza, had lived in ease and tranquillity, and had seen affairs in general managed according to justice and law, in consequence of the influence enjoyed by the reverend Khwájeh, were stung to the soul at the prevalence of such unbridled licentiousness and tyranny; and great and small, rich and poor, lifted up their hands to heaven in supplications for redress, and burst out into curses and imprecations on the Mirza's head.

'Beware of the smoke of internal wounds,
For a wound, though hidden, will at last break out
Afflict not, if you can, even one heart,
For a single groan is sufficient to confound a world'

From the judgment that attends on such crime, tyranny, and wickedness, he did not reign in Samarkand above five or six months.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1494

THIS year Abdal Kaddús Beg came to me as ambassador from Sultan Mahmúd Mirza, on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest son, and brought me a marriage present, consisting of almonds and pistachios of gold and silver. This ambassador, on his arrival, while he openly claimed kindred to Hassan Yákub, yet secretly pursued the object for which he had come, that of diverting him from his duty, and of gaining him over to his master's interest, by tempting offers and flattering promises. Hassan Yákub returned him a conciliatory answer, and in reality was gained over. When the ceremonial of the congratulations on the marriage was over, the ambassador took leave. In the course of five or six months the manners of Hassan Yákub were visibly changed.

he began to conduct himself with great impropriety to those who were about me, and it was evident that his ultimate object was to depose me, and to make Jehângîr Mirza king in my place. His deportment towards the whole of the Beks and soldiers was so highly reprehensible, that nobody could remain ignorant of the design which he had formed. In consequence of this, several who were attached to my interests, having met at my grandmother Ihsan-doulet Begum's, came to the resolution of dismissing Hassan Yâkub, and in that way of putting an end to his treasonable views.

There were few of her sex who equalled my grandmother in sense and sagacity. She was uncommonly far-sighted and judicious, many affairs and enterprises of importance were conducted by her advice. Hassan Yâkub was at this time in the citadel, and my mother and grandmother in the stone fort. I proceeded straight to the citadel, in execution of the plan which had been concerted. Hassan Yâkub, who had mounted, and gone a-hunting, on receiving intelligence of what was going forward, posted off for Samarkand. The Beks and others in his interest were taken prisoners. The greater part of them I allowed to proceed to Samarkand. Kasim Kochîn was appointed Master of the Household, and received the government of Andejân.

Hassan Yâkub, after having proceeded as far as Kand-bâdâm on his way to Samarkand, a few days after, in pursuance of his treacherous intentions, resolved to make an attempt on Akhsi, and, with that view, entered the territory of Khokân. On receiving information of this, I dispatched several Beks with a body of troops to fall upon him without loss of time. The Beks having sent on some troops in advance, Hassan Yâkub, who received intelligence of the circumstance, fell by night on this advanced guard, which was separated from the main body, surrounded the quarters they had taken up for the night, and attacked them by discharges of arrows, but, having been wounded in the

dark in his hinder parts, by an arrow shot by one of his own men, he was unable to retreat, and fell a sacrifice to his own misdeeds :—

‘When thou hast done wrong, hope not to be secure against calamity,
For its appropriate retribution awaits every deed’

This same year I began to abstain from forbidden or dubious meats, and extended my caution to the knife, the spoon, and the table-cloth ; I also seldom omitted my midnight prayers

In the month of Rabī ul Akhīr, Sultan Mahmūd Mirza was seized with a violent disorder, and, after an illness of six days, departed this life, in the forty-third year of his age.

He was born in the year 1453, and was the third son of Sultan Abu Saīd Mirza. He was of short stature, with little beard, corpulent, and a very rough-hewn man in his appearance

As for his manners and habits, he never neglected his prayers, and his arrangements and regulations were excellent ; he was well versed in calculation, and not a single sixpence of his revenues was expended without his knowledge. He was regular in paying the allowances of his servants, and his banquets, his donatives, the ceremonial of his court, and his entertainment of his dependants, were all excellent in their kind, and were conducted by a fixed rule and method. His dress was handsome, and according to the fashion of the day. He never permitted either the soldiery or people to deviate in the slightest degree from the orders or regulations which he prescribed. In the earlier part of his life he was much devoted to falconry, and kept a number of hawks, and latterly was very fond of hunting the stag. He carried his violence and debauchery to a frantic excess, and was constantly drinking wine. He kept a number of slaves, and over the whole extent of his dominions, wherever there was a handsome boy or youth, he used every means to carry him off, in order to

make him a slave The very sons of his Beks, nay his own foster-brothers, and the children of his foster-brothers, he made slaves and employed in this way And such currency did this vile practice gain in his time, that every man had his slave, insomuch, that to keep a slave was thought to be a creditable thing, and not to have one was regarded as rather an imputation on a man's spirit As a judgment upon him for his tyranny and depravity, all his sons were cut off in their youth

He had a turn for versifying, and composed a *Diwân*, but his poetry is flat and insipid: and it is surely better not to write at all than to write in that style He was of an unbelieving disposition, and treated *Khwâjeh Abdullah* very ill He was, in short, a man equally devoid of courage and of modesty He kept about him a number of buffoons and scoundrels, who acted their vile and disgraceful tricks in the face of the court, and even at public audiences He spoke ill, and his enunciation was often quite unintelligible. He went twice on a religious war, on which account he used the style of *Ghâzi*

He had five sons and eleven daughters, one of whom I married, at the instance of my mother We did not agree very well, two or three years after our marriage she was seized with the small-pox, which carried her off

The first of his Beks was *Khosrou Shah*, who was from *Turkestan*, and in his youth had been in the service of the *Terkhân Beks*, nay, had been a slave He next was in the service of *Mazîd Beg*, who treated him with great favour He accompanied *Sultan Mahmûd Mirza* in the disastrous expedition into *Irâk*, and, during the course of the retreat, did him such acceptable service, that the *Mirza* gave him high marks of his regard He afterwards rose to an exceeding height of power In the time of *Sultan Mahmûd Mirza*, his dependants amounted to the number of five or six thousand From the banks of the *Amu* to the mountain *Hindûkûsh*, the whole country, except *Badakhshân*,

depended on him, and he enjoyed the whole revenues of it. He was remarkable for making a very extensive distribution of victuals, and for his liberality. Though a Tûrk, he applied his attention to the mode of raising his revenues, and he spent them liberally as they were collected. After the death of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza, in the reign of that prince's sons, he reached the highest pitch of greatness, and indeed became independent, and his retainers rose to the number of twenty thousand. Though he prayed regularly, and abstained from forbidden foods, yet he was black-hearted and vicious, of mean understanding, and slender talents, faithless, and a traitor. For the sake of the short and fleeting pomp of this vain world, he put out the eyes of one, and murdered another of the sons of the benefactor in whose service he had been, and by whom he had been patronised and protected, rendering himself accursed of God, abhorred of men, and worthy of execration and shame till the day of final retribution. These crimes he perpetrated merely to secure the enjoyment of some poor worldly vanities, yet with all the power of his many and populous territories, in spite of his magazines of warlike stores, and the multitude of his servants, he had not the spirit to face a barn-door chicken. He will be often mentioned again in these memoirs.

Wah was another of them, the younger brother of the full blood of Khosrou Shah. He took good care of his servants. It was, however, at the instigation of this man, that Sultan Masaûd Mirza was blinded, and Baiesanghar Mirza put to death. He was in the habit of speaking ill of everybody behind their backs, and was a foul-tongued, scurrilous, self-conceited, scatter-brained fellow. He never approved of any thing or any person but himself or his own. When I separated Khosrou Shah from his servants, Wah, from dread of the Uzbeks, went to Anderâb and Sirâb. The Aimaks of these quarters defeated and plundered him, and he afterwards came to Kâbul with my permission.



' A vast number of Moghuls perished , so many of them were beheaded in the presence of Baiesanghar Mirza, that they were forced three several times to shift his pavilion, in consequence of the heaps of slain that lay before it '

Wali subsequently went to Muhammed Sheibâni Khan, who ordered his head to be struck off in Samarkand.

Another of his chiefs was Sheikh-Abdulla. He wore his frock very strict and tightened by a belt. He was an upright, unaffected man.

After Sultan Mahmûd Mirza's death, Khosrou Shah wished to conceal the event, and seized upon the treasure. How was it possible that such an event could remain concealed? It was instantly noised about among all the townspeople and inhabitants of Samarkand, and that day happening to be a great festival the soldiery and citizens, rising tumultuously, fell upon Khosrou Shah. After the expulsion of Khosrou Shah, the Begs of Samarkand and Hissâr having met and consulted together, sent an express to Baiesanghar Mirza, who was in Bokhâra, and, bringing him to Samarkand, placed him on the throne. When Baiesanghar became king he was only eighteen years of age.

At this crisis, Sultan Mahmud Khan advanced with an army against Samarkand. Baiesanghar Mirza, with the utmost activity and vigour, led out a strong and well-appointed body of troops, and engaged him not far from Kanbâr. The instant that the resolute mailed warriors of Samarkand and Hissâr charged keenly on horseback, the whole of Haider Gokultâsh's division, which had dismounted, was ridden down and trampled under the horses' feet. After the discomfiture of this body, the rest of the army no longer made a stand, but were totally defeated. A vast number of Moghuls perished, so many of them were beheaded in the presence of Baiesanghar Mirza, that they were forced three several times to shift his pavilion, in consequence of the heaps of slain that lay before it.

At this time Ibrâhim Sâru, who had been brought up from his infancy in my mother's service, and had attained the dignity of Beg, but who had afterwards been dismissed on account of some misdemeanour, now entered the fort of Asfera, read the public prayer for the Prince in the name of

Baiesanghar Mirza, and commenced open hostilities against me. In the month of Shâhân I made the army mount, and marched to quell the revolt, and in the end of the month I came to my ground and invested the place. The very day of our arrival, the young warriors, in the wantonness of enterprise, immediately on reaching the foot of the walls, mounted a rampart that had been recently built, and entered and took an outwork that had just been finished. Syed Kâsim, the chamberlain, this day acted the most distinguished part, pushed on before the other assailants, and laid about him with his scimitar. Sultan Ahmed Tambol, and Muhammed Dost Taghâi, also wielded their scimitars gallantly; but Syed Kâsim gained the prize of valour. In every entertainment and feast, he who has most distinguished himself by the gallant use of his sword takes the prize of valour. In this first day's action, Khoda-berdi, my governor, was struck with an arrow from a cross-bow and died. As the troops had rushed into the enterprise without armour, several of them were slain, and a great many wounded. Ibrâhim Sâru had with him a cross-bow man, who shot astonishingly well, I never met with his equal: he wounded a great many of my people. After the surrender of the castle, he entered into my service.

As the siege drew out to some length, orders were given to construct, in two or three places, mounds of earth, to run mines, and to use every exertion to get ready whatever machines or works were wanted for pushing on the siege. The siege lasted forty days, but at last Ibrâhim Sâru, being reduced to the last extremity, made his offers of unlimited submission, and, in the month of Shawal, having come out and presented himself before me with a scymitar suspended from his neck, delivered up the fort.

Khojend had, for a long period, belonged to my father, but, during the wars at the close of his reign, it had been occupied by Sultan Ahmed Mirza. As I had advanced so near it, I determined, situated as matters were, to

proceed against it. The fortress surrendered without any difficulty

At this period, Sultan Mahmûd Khan happened to be in Shahrokhîa. Some time before, when Sultan Ahmed Mirza advanced into the territory of Andejân, the Khan, on his side, laid siege to Akhsi, as has been mentioned. It occurred to me that, as we were now so near, and as he stood in the relation of a father and elder brother to me, I ought to go and pay him my respects, and dispel from his mind any misunderstanding that might exist in consequence of past events, a line of conduct which I perceived would be attended with this farther advantage, that it would enable me to form a nearer and better idea of the real state of things at his court.

Having formed this resolution, I went on and waited on the Khan in a garden which had been laid out by Haider Beg. The Khan was seated in a pavilion erected in the middle of the garden. Immediately on entering it, I made three low bows. The Khan returned my salutation by rising from his seat and embracing me, after which I went back and again bowed once, when the Khan, inviting me forward, placed me by his side, showing me every mark of affection and kindness. In the course of one or two days afterwards I set out by way of Akhsi and Andejân. When I arrived at Akhsi, I went and visited the tomb of my father. Leaving Akhsi on a Friday, about noon-day prayers, I proceeded towards Andejân, and arrived between evening and bed-time prayers.

Among the inhabitants of the wilds of the country of Andejân there is one tribe, named Jagray, which is very numerous, consisting of five or six thousand families. They reside in the mountains that lie between Ferghâna and Kâshghar. They have great numbers of horses and sheep, and on these mountains, instead of the common ox, they have the mountain ox in great numbers, and as they inhabit mountains difficult of access, they will not pay tribute.

Having, therefore, given Kâsim Beg the command of a strong force. I dispatched him against the Jagray to seize some of their property, that there might be something to give the troops. Kâsim Beg accordingly proceeded against them, and took twenty thousand sheep and fifteen hundred horses, which were divided among the soldiers of the army.

After the return of the army from the country of the Jagray, I proceeded against Uratippa, which had long been subject to my father, but had been lost the year of his death. It was at present held for Baiesanghar Mirza by his younger brother, who, on receiving information of my approach, escaped alone to the hill-country of Masikha, leaving his governor in Uratippa. While on the road I dispatched Khalifa as my envoy to communicate with him; but that wrong-headed man, instead of returning a suitable answer, seized on Khalifa and gave orders that he should be put to death. Such, however, was not the pleasure of God, and Khalifa escaped, and, two or three days afterwards, returned back to me, naked and on foot, after having endured a thousand distresses and hardships. I went forward and entered the territory of Uratippa, but as winter was now near at hand, the inhabitants had taken in all their grain and provender for that season, so that in a few days I was obliged to march back on my return to Andejân. After my departure, the Khan's people attacked Uratippa, and the inhabitants, being unable to resist, were obliged to surrender the city. The Khan gave Uratippa to Muhammed Hussain Korkân, in whose hands it remained from that time till the year 1502.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1495.

THE Sultan Masaûd Mirza, having fled to Samarkand, his chief nobles, after giving me due notice of their approach, came to Andejân in the month of Ramzân. On this occasion I received them sitting on a cushion, according to

the custom of the sovereigns of the house of Taimur When Khamzeh Sultan, with Mehedi Sultan and Mamak Sultan entered, I rose to do them honour, and descending from the cushion, embraced them, and placed them on my right hand on a carpet

Sultan Hussain Mirza having invested the fort of Hissâr, encamped and busied himself, without rest or intermission, night and day, in running mines, in assaulting the fort, in battering it with shot and planting cannon Mines were run in four or five places The mine which advanced towards the city-gate having made great progress, the besieged countermined, discovered it, and from above introduced smoke upon those in the mine, the besiegers, on observing this, instantly closed up the hole of the mine This was no sooner effected than the smoke was forced back on the besieged, who were obliged to retreat in their turn, nearly suffocated At length, having brought pitchers of water, they poured them into the mine and drove out the besiegers On another occasion, a party of active warriors having sallied out from the fort, attacked a party of the besiegers who were stationed at the mine, and drove them off

On the north side, again, where the Mirza in person was encamped, a battering piece was set a-going, which threw such a multitude of stones that one of the towers was shaken, and fell about bed-time prayers A party of warriors, with the greatest alacrity, asked permission to storm, which the Mirza refused to grant, alleging that the night was too dark Before morning, however, the garrison had repaired the tower, so that then no attack was practicable For two months or two months and a half, nothing was attended to except pushing on the work, the running of mines, the raising of works to overtop the wall, and discharging of stones There was no fine fighting

When news of these transactions reached Sultan Hussain Mirza, whose army, besides, was not without apprehensions on account of the spring rains, he patched up a peace, in

consequence of which Mahmûd Birlâs having come out of the fort, and being met on the part of the besiegers by a few great lords, and such musicians and singers as were to be got being collected, the eldest daughter of Sultan Mahmûd Mirza was given in marriage to Haider Mirza, the son of Sultan Hussain Mirza, after which the Sultan broke up from Hissâr and took the route of Kundez.

In the same month of Ramzân, the rebellion of the Terkhâns broke out in Samarkand. It was occasioned by the conduct of Baiesanghar Mirza, who held much greater intercourse with the Beks and soldiers of Hissâr, and behaved towards them with much more confidence and familiarity than he did towards those of Samarkand. Sheikh Abdulla was a Bek of high rank, and prime minister, such was the intimacy and attachment subsisting between his sons and the prince that they had all the appearance of standing to each other in the relation of mistress and lover. This gave great offence to the Terkhân Beks, and to several of the nobles of Samarkand, so that in the end Sultan Ali Mirza was proclaimed king, and advanced to Samarkand to the New Garden, where Baiesanghar Mirza then resided. Having seized that prince by stratagem, they separated him from his servants and retainers, conducted him to the citadel, and put the two Mirzas in one place. About afternoon prayers they had a consultation, and came to the severe resolution of sending the Mirza to Gok-serâi. Baiesanghar Mirza, under pretence of a necessary occasion, entered an edifice on the north-east of the palace gardens. The Terkhâns waited without at the door, while Mahomed Kuli Kochin entered along with him. In the back part of this house, into which the Mirza had gone under the pretence that has been mentioned, there was a door through which there had formerly been a passage out, but which had been closed up by brick on edge. The young prince contrived to throw down some of the bricks, got out, effected his escape from the citadel on the Ghadfer side of the bastion, and, descend-

ing by the Aqueduct, threw himself over the parapet wall. He betook himself to the house of Khwâjehka. Those who waited without, after a certain time, having entered to look after him, found that the Mirza had escaped.

Baesanghar Mirza was in Ahmed Hâjî's house when Mahomed Terkhân was brought in. One or two questions were put to him, to which he gave no satisfactory answer, and, indeed, the business in which he had been engaged was not such as admitted of it. He was ordered to be put to death. He showed a want of firmness, and clung to a pillar, but this did not save him, and he received his punishment. Sultan Ali was ordered to be conducted to Gok-serâi, and to have the fire-pencil applied to his eyes. The Gok-serâi is one of the palaces which Taimur built, it is situated in the citadel of Samarkand, and is remarkable on this account, that every prince of the race of Taimur who is elevated to the throne, mounts it at this place, and every one who loses his life for aspiring to the throne loses it here. Insomuch, that it has passed into a common expression that such a prince has been conducted to the Gok-serâi, a hint which is perfectly well understood to mean that he has been put to death. Sultan Ali was accordingly carried to Gok-serâi, and had the fire-pencil applied to his eyes, but whether it happened from the surgeon's want of skill, or from intention, no injury was done to them. Without disclosing this circumstance, he went to Khwâjeh Yahîa's house, and, after two or three days, fled, and joined the Terkhâns at Bokhâra. From this period an enmity subsisted between the sons of the reverend Khwâjeh Abîd-ulla, for the elder became the spiritual guide of the elder prince, and the younger of the younger. In a few days Khwâjeh Yahîa followed him to Bokhâra.

Baesanghar Mirza, having collected an army, advanced towards Bokhâra against Sultan Ali Mirza. This intelligence reached me at Andejân in the month of Shawal, and in that same month I, too, mounted, and set out with my

army to attempt the conquest of Samarkand As Sultan Hussain Mirza had retired from Hissâr, and as Sultan Masaûd and Khosrou Shah had recovered from their alarm, Sultan Masaûd now likewise, on his side, advanced, in order to assert his pretensions to Samarkand Khosrou Shah sent his younger brother, Wali, to accompany him. For three or four months Samarkand was thus beleaguered on three sides, when Khwâjeh Yahîa came to me from Sultan Ali with proposals for an alliance and confederacy between us, and managed matters so successfully that a personal conference was agreed upon I, therefore, moved with my army fourteen miles towards Samarkand, and he also came from the opposite direction with his army towards the same place Sultan Ali then advancing on his side with four or five persons, and I on mine with the same number, we had an interview on horseback in the midst of the river Kohuk, and after a short conference he returned towards his own side and I to mine. After this conference with Sultan Ali, as the winter season was fast approaching, and great scarcity prevailed in the country of Samarkand, I returned to Andejân, and Sultan Ali to Bokhâra

TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 1496

In my conference with Sultan Ali it had been settled that, in the summer, he should advance from Bokhâra, and I from Andejân, to form the siege of Samarkand According to this agreement, in the month of Ramzân I mounted and dispatched two or three hundred skirmishers to advance with all expedition Baiesanghar Mirza being apprized of our approach, broke up and retreated in great disorder. The skirmishers, that same night, having overtaken their rear, killed a number of men with their arrows, took a great many prisoners, and acquired much booty In two days I arrived at the fortress of Shirâz, which the commandant

delivered up, and next morning, after having performed the prayers for the festival of the new moon, I proceeded towards Samarkand. The same day three or four hundred men came and entered into my service, their story was, that as soon as Baiesanghar Mirza began his retreat, they had left him and come to offer their services to the King. I afterwards discovered, however, that, at the time of parting from Baiesanghar Mirza, they had undertaken to defend the fortress of Shirâz, and had set out with that intention, but that, on discovering how things stood with regard to Shirâz, they found that there was nothing left for it but to come and join me.

When I halted at Kara-bûlâk, many straggling Moghuls, who had been guilty of great excesses in different villages through which they had passed, were seized and brought in. Kâsim Beg ordered two or three of them to be cut to pieces as an example. Four or five years afterwards, during my difficulties, when I went from Masîha to the Khan, Kâsim Beg found it necessary to separate from me on account of this very transaction.

Marching from Kara-bûlâk, I crossed the river and halted near Yâm. The same day some of my principal Begs attacked a body of Baiesanghar Mirza's troops on the public pleasure-ground of the city. In this skirmish Sultan Ahmed Tambol was wounded in the neck with a spear, but did not fall from his horse. Khwâjehka Mullai, the chief judge, who was the elder brother of Khwâjeh Kilân, also received an arrow in his neck, and, on the spot, departed to the mercy of God. He was a man of worth and learning, and had great knowledge of language, he also excelled in falconry and was acquainted with magic. My father had shown him marks of regard and appointed him keeper of the seal. While we were in the vicinity of Yâm a number of persons, both traders and others, came from the town to the camp-bazar, and began to traffic, and to buy and sell. One day, about afternoon prayers, there was suddenly

a general hubbub, and the whole of those Musulmans were plundered. But such was the discipline of my army that, on my issuing an order that no person should presume to detain any part of the effects or property that had been so seized, before the first watch of the next day was over there was not a bit of thread or a broken needle that was not restored to the owner

Marching thence, I halted at Yuret-Khân, about six miles to the east of Samarkand, where I remained forty or fifty days, and during our stay there many sharp skirmishes took place on the pleasure-ground of the city between our people and the townsmen. In one of these actions Ibrâhim Begchick received a sabre wound in the face, from whence he was always afterwards called Slashed-face. On a different occasion, in the Khiabân, at the bridge, Abul Kâsim laid about him with his mace in grand style. At another time, and also in the Khiabân, there was a skirmish, in which Mîr Shah distinguished himself with his mace, but received such a dreadful wound from a scimitar that his neck was half cut through, the arteries, however, luckily were not separated.

While we remained at Yuret-Khân, the townspeople treacherously sent a man who was instructed to tell us that if we would come by night on the side next the Lover's Cave, they would deliver the fort into our hands. Seduced by this promise, we mounted at night, and advanced by the bridge over the Moghâk, whence we sent on a small party of chosen horse, with some foot-soldiers, to the appointed place. The people of the town seized and carried off four or five of the foot-soldiers before the rest were aware of the treachery, and put them all to death

While we remained at this station, so many of the townspeople and traders came from Samarkand that the camp was like a city, and you could find in the camp whatever is procurable in towns. During this interval, the inhabitants surrendered to me the whole country, the castles, the high

lands and low, except the city of Samarkand. A small body of troops had fortified the castle of Urgut, which obliged me to decamp from the Yuret and march against them. Being unable to maintain the place, they availed themselves of the mediation of Khwâjeh Kazi to surrender, and, having received their submission, I returned to invest Samarkand.

This same year the misunderstanding that had previously subsisted between Sultan Hussain and Badîa-ez-Zemân came to an open rupture.

Sultan Hussain advancing up the country, and Badîa-ez-Zemân marching down, the two armies encountered in the meadows below Balkh. On Wednesday the first of Ramzân, Abul Hassan, and some of Sultan Hussain's Begs, having pushed on with a detachment of troops as a plundering party, routed Badîa-ez-Zemân after what could hardly be called an action, though many young cavaliers of his party were taken prisoners. Sultan Hussain ordered the whole of them to have their heads struck off. Nor in this instance alone, on every occasion when any of his sons rebelled and was defeated, he uniformly ordered every one of their adherents who fell into his hands to be beheaded. And why not? He had right on his side. These Mirzas were so extravagantly addicted to vice and pleasure, that, regardless of the approach of their father, a prince of great wisdom and experience, who had come from such a distance, and regardless of the holy and blessed month of Ramzân, of which only a single night had been enjoyed, without any reverence for their father, and laying aside the fear of God, they only thought of drinking wine and revelling in wantonness. But most certain it is that such conduct inevitably leads to destruction, and that they who so demean themselves will inevitably fall before the first attack. Badîa-ez-Zemân had held the government of Asterâbâd for several years. During all that time, the young cavaliers, both in that place and its environs, were all arrayed in gay and gallant attire. He

had many arms and accoutrements of silver and gold, much furniture of rich cloth, with innumerable horses. All these he now gave to the wind. In his flight by the rugged mountain route, he came on a dangerous precipitous road, which they descended with great difficulty. Many of his men perished at this precipice.

Badiâ-ez-Zemân, after his defeat, being in great distress, and stript of everything, accompanied by such of his men, old and young, horse and foot, as still adhered to him, proceeded to Khosrou Shah, who gave him a handsome reception, and did him all manner of service. He was so liberal in equipping all that accompanied him with horses, camels, tents, pavilions, and military furnishings of every description, that such as saw them confessed that there was no difference between their former and present arms or accoutrements, excepting that they were not mounted with gold and silver.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1497

WE now encamped behind the garden of the plain, in the meadow of Kulbeh. On this occasion the men of Samarkand, both soldiers and townsmen, sallied out in great numbers, and came upon us. As my people were off their guard, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence the enemy dismounted Sultan Ali and carried him off into the town.

A few days after, we marched and encamped on the hill of Kohik. That same day Syed Yûsef Beg came out of Samarkand, and having waited upon me at this station, entered into my service. The men of Samarkand when they saw us on our march from the one station to the other, fancying I had taken my departure, rushed out in great numbers, both soldiers and citizens, and advanced as far as the Mirza's bridge. Orders were immedi-

ately issued for the cavaliers who were on the spot, to arm without loss of time, and to charge the enemy on the two flanks. God prospered our proceedings—the enemy were defeated, and numbers of Beks and horsemen being dismounted were taken prisoners, among whom were Mahomed Miskîn and Hâfez Duldâi. The latter was wounded with a sabre, and had his fore-finger cut off. Mahomed Kâsim Nabîreh was dismounted and taken. Many other officers and fighting men of some note and description were also brought in. Of the lower order of townspeople there were taken Diwâneh, a Jameh-weaver, and one nicknamed Kilmasuk, who were notorious as the chief ringleaders of the rabble, in fighting with stones and heading riots. They were directed to be put to death with torture, in retaliation for the foot-soldiers who had been slain at the Lover's Cave.

The defeat of the men of Samarkand was decisive, from that time forward they never sallied out, and matters came to such a pass, that our people advanced right up to the edge of the ditch, and carried off numbers of male and female slaves close under the walls.

The sun had now entered the sign of the Balance, and the cold was becoming severe. I assembled the Beks and held a consultation, when we agreed, that the townspeople were reduced to great distress, that, with the blessing of God, we were likely to take the place in a few days, but that, as we were exposed to great inconvenience from being encamped in the open country, we should for the present break up from before the city, and construct winter quarters for ourselves in some neighbouring fort, that then, should we finally be obliged to draw off, we might do so without confusion. The fort of Khwâjeh Didâr seemed the fittest for our purpose. We therefore marched from our position, and halted in a plain in front of Khwâjeh Didâr.

Baesanghar Mirza had now sustained the blockade for seven months, and had placed his last hope in this succour. Disappointed in this too, he resigned himself to despair, and,

accompanied by two or three hundred hungry and naked wretches, set out to take refuge with Khosrou Shah.

No sooner had Baiesanghar Mirza fled from Samarkand, than I received notice of the event, and instantly mounting set out for Samarkand. On the road we were met by the chief men of the city, and by the Begs, and these were followed by the young cavaliers, who all came out to welcome me. Having proceeded to the citadel, I alighted at the Bostân Serai, and, towards the end of the month of Rabîa ul Awel, by the favour of God, I gained complete possession of the city and country of Samarkand.

In the whole habitable world there are few cities so pleasantly situated as Samarkand. It is situated in the fifth climate, in lat $39^{\circ} 37'$ and long. $99^{\circ} 16'$ from Ferro. I directed its wall to be paced round the rampart, and found that it was five miles in circumference.

There are many palaces and gardens that belonged to Taimur both in Samarkand and the suburbs. Taimur built, in the citadel of Samarkand, a stately palace, four stories high, which is famous by the name of Gok-serai. There are many other magnificent edifices. One of these is the grand mosque, which is situated near the Iron-gate, within the walls of the city, and is built of stone. A number of stone-cutters were brought from Hindûstân to work on it. In the frontispiece over the portico of the mosque, is inscribed the verse of the Koran, 'Ibrahim and Ismael raised the foundations of the house, saying,' &c., in characters of such a size that they may be read nearly two miles off. It is a very grand building. To the east of Samarkand there are two gardens. The one which is the more distant is called the Perfect Garden; the nearer, the Heart-delighting Garden. From the first there is a public avenue, planted on each side with pine-trees. In the other there has also been built a large palace, in which is a series of paintings, representing the wars of Taimur in Hindûstân. There is another garden, on the skirts of the hill on the banks of the black-water, which they call the

Water of Mercy, and this is denominated the Miniature of the World. When I saw it, it had fallen into decay, and nothing worthy of notice was left. On the south of Samarkand lies the Plane-tree Garden, which is in the immediate vicinity of the city. Lower down than Samarkand are the Northern Garden and the Garden of Paradise. Mahomed Sultan Mirza, grandson of Taimur, founded a college just as you go out of the stone fort of Samarkand. The tomb of Taimur, and the tombs of all such of the descendants of Taimur as have reigned in Samarkand, are in that college.

Among the edifices erected by Ulugh Beg are the college and convent, which stand within the fortifications of Samarkand. The door of the convent is of great magnitude, and, indeed, scarcely to be equalled in the world. In the vicinity of this college and convent there is an excellent set of baths. The floor is paved with stones of every sort in chequer-work. There are no baths to equal them in all Samarkand.

On the south of this college is situated a mosque, which is called the Carved Mosque, because its timbers are curiously carved with ornaments and flowers of various kinds, and the whole of the walls and roof are adorned in the same manner. The direction of the sacred stone of this mosque is very different from that of the college, and the probability is, that the sacred stone of the former was adjusted by astronomical observation.

Another remarkable edifice is the observatory, erected on the skirts of the hill of Kohik, which is provided with an astronomical apparatus, and is three stories in height. By means of this observatory, Ulugh Beg composed the Astronomical Tables, which are followed at the present time, scarcely any other being used. Before they were published, the Ilkhâni Astronomical Tables were in general use, constructed in the time of Holâkû, in his observatory.

At the foot of the hill of Kohik, on the west, there is a

garden, named the Garden of the Plain, in the middle of which is a splendid edifice, two stories high, named the Forty Pillars. The pillars are all of stone. In the four turrets in the corners of this building, they have constructed four minarets, the road up to which is by these four towers. In every part of the building are stone pillars curiously wrought, some twisted, others fluted, and some with other peculiarities. The four sides of the upper story consist of open galleries, supported by pillars all of stone, and in the centre is a grand hall or pavilion, likewise of stone. The raised floor of the palace is all paved with stone. Towards the hill of Kohik there is a small garden, wherein is a great open hall, within which is a large throne of a single stone, about thirty feet in length, sixteen in breadth, and two in height. This huge stone was brought from a great distance. There is a crack in it, which it is said to have received since it was brought to this place. In this garden there is another state pavilion, the walls of which are overlaid with porcelain of China, whence it is called the Chinese House. It is said that a person was sent to China for the purpose of bringing it. Within the walls of Samarkand is another ancient building, called the Echoing Mosque, because, whenever any person stamps on the ground in the mosque, an echo is returned. It is a strange thing, the secret of which is known to nobody.

In this garden, there is a variety of different plots laid out one above another, all on a regular plan, and elms, cypresses, and white poplars are planted in the different compartments. It is a very perfect place. Its chief defect is that it has no great stream of running water.

Samarkand is a wonderfully fine city. One of its distinguishing peculiarities is that each trade has its own bazar, so that different trades are not mixed together in the same place. The established customs and regulations are good. The bakers' shops are excellent, and the cooks are skilful. The best paper in the world comes from Samarkand. The

species of paper called *juaz* comes entirely from Kanegil, which is situated on the banks of the Water of Mercy. Another production of Samarkand is crimson velvet, which is exported to all quarters.

Samarkand has many provinces, of which one of the largest is Bokhâra. Its fruits are both abundant and of good quality, particularly its melons, which are exquisite, and are not to be equalled, either for quantity or excellence. Though, at Akhsi, in the country of Ferghâna, there is one extremely sweet and delicate species, yet, in Bokhâra, there is a profusion of melons of every description, and all good of their kind. The prune or plum of Bokhâra is also celebrated, and nowhere else is that fruit to be found in equal perfection. The people peel off the rind of this fruit, and dry it, after which it is carried as a most acceptable rarity to other countries. As a laxative, it is a medicine of approved excellence. The household fowl and goose are here of a good breed. There is no wine superior, in spirit and strength, to that of Bokhâra. When I drank wine at Samarkand, in the days when I had my drinking-bouts, I used the wine of Bokhâra.

The temperature of the air is charming, the appearance of the country beautiful, water abundant, and provisions cheap. Those who have travelled in Egypt and Syria acknowledge that nothing there is comparable to it.

Taimur Beg conferred the government of Samarkand on his son Jehângîr, who conferred it on his eldest son Ulugh Beg, from whom it was taken by his son Abdal-Latîf, who, for the sake of the enjoyments of this fleeting and transitory world, murdered his own father, an old man so illustrious for his knowledge. The date of the death of Ulugh Beg is contained in the following memorial verses:—

‘Ulugh Beg, the ocean of learning and science,
Who was the protector of this lower world,
Drank from Abbâs the honey of martyrdom,
And the date of his death is—Abbâs slew him’

When I mounted the throne of Samarkand, I showed the same favour and grace to the great lords that they had been accustomed to in times past, and I distinguished the Begs who had accompanied me by rewards proportioned to their situation and merits. I bestowed more eminent rewards on Sultan Tambol than on any of my other nobles. Samarkand had been taken after a severe and fatiguing siege of seven months. On getting possession of it, the soldiers of the army acquired considerable booty. All the rest of the country, Samarkand excepted, had voluntarily joined me or Sultan Ali, and consequently these districts had not been given up to plunder. From a place which had been entirely ruined and sacked, how was it possible to levy anything by taxation? It had all been completely pillaged by the troops. Samarkand when taken was in such a distressed state that it was absolutely necessary to furnish the inhabitants with seed-corn and supplies, to enable them to carry on the cultivation till the harvest. How was it possible to levy anything from a country that was in this exhausted condition? Under these circumstances the soldiers were exposed to considerable distress, and I on my part had nothing to give them. They therefore began to think of home, and to desert by ones and twos. The first man who went off was Khan-Kuli. All the Moghuls deserted, and finally, Sultan Tambol himself went off, and left me.

In order to put a stop to this defection, I sent Khwâjeh Kazi to Uzun Hassan, who had a great attachment and veneration for the Khwâjeh, to prevail upon him to concur in adopting measures to punish some of the fugitives, and send back others to me. But the prime mover of this sedition, and the grand instigator of these desertions and defections, was, in reality, the perfidious Uzun Hassan himself. After the defection of Sultan Tambol, all the fugitives openly and in direct terms professed their hostility.

Though I had never received any kind of assistance or succour from Sultan Mahmud Khan, during the several

years that I had led my army against Samarkand, yet, no sooner had I succeeded in conquering that country, than he indicated a desire to occupy Andejân. On the present occasion, when the greater part of my troops, and the whole of the Moghuls, had deserted me and gone to Akhsi and Andejân, Uzun Hassan and Tambol expressed a wish that those countries should be placed under Jehangîr Mirza. It was inexpedient that they should be given up to him, on many accounts. One of these was, that though I never had promised them to the Khan, yet he had demanded them, and if, after such demand, they were bestowed on Jehangîr Mirza, I must expect to come to an explanation with him. Another reason was, that at this season, when my men had *deserted and gone back to their own countries*, a request seemed equivalent to a command. Had the request been made before, I might have complied with a good grace, but who could bear a tone of authority? All the Moghuls who had accompanied me, as well as the army of Andejân, and some even of the Beks who were near my person, had gone off to Andejân. Only about a thousand men, including Beks, great and small, remained with me in Samarkand.

When they found that their request was not complied with, they collected all the people who had left me from disappointment, and united them to their party. These deserters, who dreaded the reward of their guilt, stood in such terror of me, that they deemed this revolt an interposition of God in their favour. Having marched from Akhsi against Andejân, they openly raised the standard of rebellion and hostility.

One Tûlun Khwâjeh, who was the bravest and most resolute of my skirmishers, had been honourably entertained by my father, and I myself had continued to show him distinguished marks of my regard, and raised him to the rank of Beg. He was an extremely gallant soldier, an excellent partizan, and every way worthy of the favour shown him.

As Tûlun Khwâjeh was the man of all the Moghuls on whom I had conferred the greatest benefits, and in whom I reposed the most perfect trust, when the Moghuls began to retire, I sent him to confer with them, and to remove from their minds any jealousies or disgusts which they might have conceived, that they might not be led to throw away their lives from any false apprehensions of my resentment; but the traitors had wrought upon them so effectually, that entreaties and promises and threats were tried in vain. Uzun Hassan and Sultan 'Tambol dispatched a body of light troops, who fell by surprise on Tûlun Khwâjeh, took him prisoner, carried him off, and put him to death.

Uzun Hassan and Tambol now carried Jehangîr Mirza along with them, and laid siege to Andejân. When I set out with the army, I had left Ali Dost Taghâi in command of Andejân, and Uzun Hassan in charge of Akhsi. Khwâjeh Kazi had also returned back to Andejân. Among those who had deserted from Samarkand were a number of good soldiers. Khwâjeh Kazi, immediately on his arrival, with a view of preserving the fort, and induced by his affection and attachment to me, divided eighteen thousand of his own sheep among the troops who were in the town, and among the wives and families of such as were with me. During the siege I received letters from my mother, as well as from Khwâjeh Kazi, mentioning that they were besieged, and so hotly pressed, that, if I did not hasten to their relief, things would come to a very bad termination. That I had taken Samarkand with the forces of Andejân, and, if I still continued master of Andejân, might once more (should God prosper me) regain possession of Samarkand. Letters of this import followed fast upon each other. At this time I had just somewhat recovered from a severe illness. My circumstances, however, prevented me from nursing myself during my amendment, and my anxiety and exertions brought on such a severe relapse, that for four days I was speechless, and the only nourishment I received was from

'The physician sprinkled me with water, and all those who were with us, small and great, despairing of my life, were soon engaged in looking after their own concerns.'

هر چه در آنجا میگذشت که پیراهن دو دوازده روز در آن
 سیاهی از رنگی بن باریش شده و گریستن و گریه و گشت



having my tongue occasionally moistened with cotton. Those who were with me, high and low, Beks, cavaliers, and soldiers, despairing of my life, began each to shift for himself.

At this crisis a servant of Uzun Hassan's came on an embassy with some seditious propositions. The Beks, very mistakenly, brought him where I was, and then gave him leave to depart. In four or five days I got somewhat better, but still had a little difficulty of speech. A few days afterwards I received letters from my mother, inviting me with so much solicitude to come to their assistance, that I had not the heart to delay. In the month of Rejeb I marched out of Samarkand for Andejân. At this time I had reigned just one hundred days in Samarkand. Next Saturday I reached Khojend, and that same day intelligence arrived that, seven days before, on the very day on which I had left Samarkand, Alî Dost Taghâi had surrendered the fortress of Andejân to the enemy.

The truth was, that the servant of Uzun Hassan, who had been suffered to depart during my illness, arriving while the enemy were busy with the siege, and relating what he had witnessed, that the King had lost his speech, and received no nourishment except from having his tongue moistened with cotton steeped in a liquid, was made to confirm these circumstances on oath in the presence of Dost Alî Taghâi, who stood at the Khakan Gate. Completely confounded at the news, he commenced a negotiation with the enemy, and having entered into terms of capitulation, surrendered the fort. There was no want of provisions, nor of fighting-men in the place. This wretched fellow's conduct, therefore, was the extreme of treachery and cowardice. He merely employed the circumstances that have been mentioned as a cover to his baseness.

After the surrender of Andejân, the enemy having received information of my arrival at Khojend, seized Khwâjeh Kazi and martyred him by hanging him in a shameful manner.

over the gate of the citadel. I have no doubt that Khwâjeh Kazi was a saint. What better proof of it could be required than the single fact that, in a short time, no trace or memorial remained of any one of all those who were concerned in his murder. They were all completely extirpated. Khwâjeh Kazi was a wonderfully bold man, which is also no mean proof of sanctity. All mankind, however brave they be, have some little anxiety or trepidation about them. The Khwâjeh had not a particle of either.

After the Khwâjeh's death they seized and plundered all those who were connected with him as his servants and domestics, his tribe and followers. They sent to me, to Khojend, my grandmother, my mother, and the families of several persons who were with me. For the sake of Andejân I had lost Samarkand, and found that I had lost the one without preserving the other.

I now became a prey to melancholy and vexation; for since I had been a sovereign prince I never before had been separated in this manner from my country and followers; and since the day that I had known myself, I had never experienced such grief and suffering.

As the Begs, captains, and warriors who were with me had many of them their wives and families in Andejân; and as they now saw no hope of our regaining it, great and small, Beg and common man, to the number of seven or eight hundred men, separated from me entirely. There adhered to me, choosing voluntarily a life of exile and difficulty, of all ranks, good and bad, somewhat more than two hundred, and less than three hundred men. Among the officers were the Chamberlain, the Standard-bearer, the Master of the Horse, and the Equerry.

I was now reduced to a very distressed condition, and wept a great deal. I returned to Khojend, whither they sent me my mother and my grandmother, with the wives and families of several of those who had continued with me.

But inspired as I was with an ambition for conquest and for extensive dominion, I would not, on account of one or two defeats, sit down and look idly around me

Meanwhile, a rebellion had broken out in Hissar, and Khosrou Shah, having got Maisanghar Mirza and Miran-Shah Mirza into his power, some evil-minded counsellors advised Khosrou Shah to put these princes to death, and to cause the prayer to be read in his own name. He did not fall into this plan, but yet, for the sake of this fleeting and faithless world, which never was, and never will be, true to any one, this thankless and ungrateful man seized Sultan Masaûd, a prince whom he himself had reared from infancy to manhood, and whose governor he had been, and blinded him by lancing his eyes. Some of the foster-brothers, clansmen, and playmates of Masaûd carried him off, with the intention of conducting him to Sultan Ali in Samarkand, and brought him to Kesh. Here, discovering a plan that had been formed for attacking them, they fled, crossed the river Amu, and took refuge with Sultan Hussain. Every day until the day of judgment, may a hundred thousand curses light on the head of that man who is guilty of such black treachery, and on his who plans it: let every man who hears of this action of Khosrou Shah, pour out imprecations on him, for he who hears of such a deed and does not curse him, is himself worthy to be accursed.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 1498

HAVING failed in repeated expeditions against Samarkand and Andejân, I once more returned to Khojend. Khojend is but a small place, and it is difficult for one to support two hundred retainers in it. How, then, could a man, ambitious of empire, set himself down contentedly in so insignificant a place?

One day, while I remained there, Khwâjeh Makâram,

who, like myself, was an exile and a wanderer, came to visit me. I took the opportunity of consulting him with respect to my situation and concerns—whether it was advisable for me to remain where I was, or to go elsewhere—what I should attempt, and what I should leave untried. He was so much affected with the state in which he found me, that he shed tears, and, after praying over me, took his departure. I myself was also extremely affected.

That very day, about afternoon prayers, a horseman was descried at the bottom of the valley. He proved to be a servant of Ali Dost Taghâi, and came with a message from his master to inform me that he had undoubtedly offended deeply, but that he trusted to my clemency for forgiving his past offences; and that, if I would march to join him, he would deliver up Marghinân to me, and would do me such service and duty as would wipe away his past errors, and free him from his disgrace.

Instantly on hearing this news, without delay, I that very moment (it was then about sunset) set out post for Marghinân, which was about one hundred miles distant. That night till morning, and the next day till the time of noon-day prayers, I halted in no place whatsoever. About noon-day prayers I halted at a village, and, having refreshed our horses, and fed and watered them, we again mounted at midnight, rode all that night till morning, and all next day till sunset, and, just before sunrise the following morning, we came within four miles of Marghinân. Weis Beg and some others, after considering matters, now represented to me that Ali Dost Taghâi was one who had stickled at no crimes, that there had been no repeated interchange of messengers between us—no terms or conditions agreed upon, with what confidence, therefore, could we put ourselves in his power? In truth, these reflections had reason on their side. I therefore halted a little and held a consultation, when it was finally agreed that, though our reflections were not without foundation, we had been too

late of making them. We had now passed three days and three nights without rest, and we had come a distance of one hundred miles without stopping, that neither man nor horse had any strength left, that there was no possibility of retreating, and, even if we could retreat, no place of safety to retire to, that, since we had come so far, we must proceed. Nothing happens but by the will of God. Reposing ourselves on His protection, we went forward.

About the time of the morning prayer, we reached the gate of the castle of Marghinân. Alî Dost Taghâi stood over the gateway, without throwing the gate open, and desired conditions. After I had assented to terms, and given him my promise, he caused the gates to be opened, and paid his respects to me, conducting me to a suitable house within the fort. The men who had accompanied me amounted, great and small, to two hundred and forty.

Uzun Hassan had, I found, conducted himself very ill, and behaved with great tyranny to the people of the country. The whole inhabitants now anxiously wished for my restoration. Two or three days after my arrival in Marghinân, therefore, I dispatched Kâsim Beg, with a hundred men, with instructions to proceed to the south of Andejân, to the people of the hill country and others in that quarter, and to attempt to prevail upon them, either by negotiation or force, to make their submission. I also sent about a hundred men towards Akhsi, with instructions to pass the river of Khojend, to use all means to gain possession of the forts, and to conciliate and win over the people of the hills.

A few days after, Uzun Hassan and Tambol advanced against me. Although I had detached Kâsim Beg and other officers on service to two different quarters, and only a very few troops remained with me, yet having armed and put in array such as I had, we marched out, and would not permit them to advance beyond the skirts of the suburbs. The enemy could effect nothing. Two succeeding attempts

were equally frustrated, and they were unable to reach the fortress

Kâsim Beg, who had proceeded to the hill country to the south of Andejân, completely brought over the people of that country. The enemy's soldiers, too, began to desert by ones and twos, and came and joined me

Hassan Degchi, one of the chief men of Akhsi, with his own followers and a body of the mob and rabble of the place, having armed themselves with sticks and clubs, attacked and drove the garrison of Akhsi out of the place, and forced them to take refuge in the citadel. They then invited my officers, and gave them admittance into the fortified town of Akhsi.

Uzun Hassan was alarmed on receiving this intelligence. He dispatched a party of his most trusty adherents, and of his bravest partizans, to the relief of the citadel of Akhsi. They reached the bank of the river about morning twilight. When notice of this was communicated to my army and to that of the Moghuls, a party was directed to strip their horses of all their furniture, and to be ready to enter the river. The party which was going to relieve the citadel having, in their confusion and alarm, neglected to pull the boat sufficiently up the stream, dropped down below the place from which they had embarked, and were unable to make the fort, so that the vessel was carried lower down. My troops and the Moghuls, who had stripped their horses, plunged on all sides into the river. The men in the boat, being panic-struck, were unable to defend themselves. Karloghaj Bakhshi having invited one of the sons of Moghul Beg to come to him, laid hold of his hand and slew him with his sword. What purpose did such an act of treachery serve? Things were now all over, and this cruel deed was the occasion of the death of the greater part of those who were in the boat, for our people, who had ridden into the water, dragged them on shore, and put them almost all to death. Of the confidential servants of Uzun Hassan on

board, one escaped by pretending to be a slave. Another, Syed Ali, is now with me, and high in office. Of seventy or eighty experienced and chosen warriors, not more than five or six escaped.

Andejân having declared for me, the rebels now retired, and thus by the grace of the Most High, in the month of Zilkadeh, and year 1499, I recovered my paternal kingdom, of which I had been deprived nearly two years.

Uzun Hassan, on seeing himself shut out of Andejân, retreated to Akhsi, and information reached me that he had entered the citadel. As he was the very head and ring-leader of the rebellion, without staying more than four or five days in Andejân, I marched against Akhsi. No sooner had I arrived there than, as he had nothing else left for it, he offered to capitulate, asked quarter, and surrendered the fort.

As I had agreed that Uzun Hassan should suffer no injury either in life or property, I allowed him to depart. He proceeded towards Hissâr with a small retinue, while all the rest of his followers separated from him and remained behind. These were the very men who, during the late disturbances, had pillaged and plundered my adherents. Several of my Begs united in their representations, telling me 'This is the very band which has been the cause of all these confusions, and the origin of all the devastations that have afflicted us, these are the men who have plundered so many of the faithful and true believers who adhered to us. What fidelity have they shown to their own chiefs that they should now be faithful to us? What harm would there be if they were seized, or an order given for plundering them? Especially as they are riding our own horses, wearing our garments, and killing and eating our own sheep before our eyes. What patience can possibly endure all this? If from compassion you do not plunder them, or give orders for a general pillage, at least let us, who have adhered to you in all your dangers and difficulties, be permitted to resume whatever part of our

property we find in the possession of these men. If they get off on these terms, they ought to be very thankful' In fine, I agreed to the plan, and an order was issued that such as had accompanied me in my campaigns, might resume possession of whatever part of their property they recognised. Although the order seemed reasonable and just in itself, yet it had been issued with too much precipitation; and, when there was a rival like Jehangîr Mirza at my elbow, it was a senseless thing to exasperate so many men who had arms in their hands. In war and in affairs of state, though there are many things that appear just and reasonable at first sight, yet no matter ought to be finally fixed without being well weighed and considered in a hundred different lights. From my issuing this single order without sufficient foresight, what commotions and mutinies arose! This inconsiderate order of mine was in reality the ultimate cause of my being a second time expelled from Andejân.

The Moghuls being filled with alarm, mutinied. There were with my mother one thousand five hundred or nearly two thousand Moghuls, and about the same number may have come from Hissâr. The horde of Moghuls have uniformly been the authors of every kind of mischief and devastation, down to the present time they have five times rebelled against me. Nor have they mutinied only against me, which might have proceeded from some incompatibility of temper, but they are perpetually guilty of the same offence against their own Khans.

The news of this defection was brought me by Sultan Chinâk. He did me good service by bringing me this information, but though on this occasion he was useful to me, he was finally, as will be mentioned, guilty of such villainy as would have wiped away a hundred services like that in question, and the main cause of his future villainy was also his being a Moghul.

As soon as I received this information, I assembled the Begs and held a consultation. They were of opinion that it

was a trifling occurrence, and that there was no necessity for the King himself to take the field, that Kâsim Beg, with a few of the Beks and a detachment of the army, might proceed on the service. This was accordingly resolved on. They imagined that it was an easy matter, but were woefully mistaken. Early next morning the two armies met face to face and had a desperate action, Kâsim Beg himself meeting Sultan Mahomed Arghûn, struck him two or three blows one after another with his sword, but did not slay him. Several of my cavaliers made very gallant charges, but they were finally defeated. Kâsim Beg, with three or four others of my Beks and officers, escaped. Most of the other Beks and officers fell into the hands of the enemy. In this battle two cavaliers had a gallant combat. On my side was Samad, and on the other side was Shah-sawâr, one of the Moghuls of Hissâr. They met hand to hand, and Shah-sawâr urged his blow with such force that he drove his sabre right through Samad's helmet, and fixed it pretty deep in his skull. In spite of this wound, Samad returned the blow with such fury that his sword shore clean off a piece of Shah-sawâr's skull as big as the palm of the hand. As Shah-sawâr had no helmet on, the wound in his head was properly bound up and he recovered, but there being nobody to attend to Samad's wound, he died of it in three or four days.

This defeat came most unseasonably—just at the moment when I had escaped from a scene of petty warfare and disasters, and had again recovered my country. Tambol, following up his success, advanced within four miles of Andejân to a plain in face of the rising ground of Aîsh, where he encamped. His advance was checked, and he retreated. It was during this same advance that he put to death two of the Beks who had fallen into his hands. After lying nearly a month before the city, and effecting nothing, he returned towards Ush.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 1499.

I now dispatched officers to collect the whole force of my territories, horse and foot, with all possible speed, also to procure scaling-ladders, shovels, axes, and all kinds of necessities and stores for the use of the army. I marched towards Ush to meet the enemy, having my army divided into right and left wings, centre and advance, with cavalry and infantry all drawn out in regular array

The castle of Mâdu is excessively strong. On the north side, where there is a river, it is very steep and precipitous. If an arrow be discharged from the river, it may perhaps reach the castle wall. Its supply of water is from a conduit on this side. From the bottom of the castle a sort of covered way, having ramparts on each side, reaches down to the river. All round the hillock there is a moat. As the river is near at hand, they had brought from its bed stones about the size of those used for battering cannon, and carried them up into the fort. Such a number of huge stones as were launched from the fort of Mâdu, in all the storms that I have witnessed, I never saw thrown from any other castle. Abdal Kadûs having climbed up to the foot of the castle wall, was hit by a large stone discharged from above, which sent him spinning down, heels over head, from that prodigious height, right forward, without touching anywhere till he lighted, tumbling and rolling, at the bottom of the glacis. Yet he received no injury, and immediately mounted his horse and returned back to the camp. At the conduit which had the double wall, Yâr Ali was severely wounded in the head with a stone. The wound was afterwards cut open and dressed. Many of our people suffered from these stones. The morning after the attack, before breakfast-time, we had gained possession of the water-course. The action continued till evening, but, after losing their water, the garrison could no longer hold out, and, next morning, they asked for quarter

شہادت اور احساختہ بود و کرم حق
 حسین نہ را فرور آورده و از آتش
 کہ مردمی شناختنی بودند



and surrendered the place Khalîl, the younger brother of Tambol, who was in command, with seventy, eighty, or a hundred of the most active young men, were kept as prisoners, and sent to Andejân to be put in close custody. This was a fortunate occurrence for such of my Begs, officers, and soldiers as had fallen into the hands of the enemy

For a month or forty days we remained in this posture. There was no general action during that time, but every day there were skirmishes between my foragers and theirs. During this period I paid great attention to keeping a strict look-out by night, and dug a trench all round the camp, where there was no ditch, we placed branches of trees. I made all our soldiers march out and present themselves, accoutred and ready for action, by the side of the ditch, but, notwithstanding all this care, every three or four nights there was an alarm in the camp, and a call to arms.

This year Khosrou Shah, having invited Baiesanghar Mirza to join him, under pretence of proceeding to attack Balkh, carried him to Kundez, from which place they set out on their march against Balkh. When they had reached Ubaj, Khosrou Shah, the miserable and infidel-like wretch, betrayed by the ambition of usurping the sovereign power—how is it possible for sovereignty to appertain to such a worthless and contemptible creature, who had neither birth, nor family, nor talents, nor reputation, nor wisdom, nor courage, nor justice, nor right?—yet this reptile seized upon Baiesanghar Mirza and his Begs, strangled him with a bow-string, and thus, on the tenth day of Moharrem, murdered this most accomplished and sweet-tempered prince, who was adorned with whatever endowments rank and birth could bestow. He also put to death a number of his Begs and confidential servants.

I now found it necessary to put my troops in winter quarters. Around these villages there is excellent sporting ground, and good cover for game. Near the river Ilâmish, in the jungle, there are great numbers of mountain-goats,

stags, and wild hogs. In the smaller jungle, which is scattered and in clumps, there are abundance of excellent jungle-fowl and hares. The foxes possess more fleetness than those of any other place. While I remained in these winter quarters I rode a-hunting every two or three days. After scouring the larger forests, where we roused and hunted the mountain-goat and deer; we hawked in the smaller jungle for the jungle-fowl, and also shot them with forked arrows. The jungle-fowl are here very fat. While we remained in these winter quarters we had the flesh of jungle-fowl in great abundance. We remained forty or fifty days in these winter quarters. Being obliged to give leave to a number of men to go off, in the end I myself found it expedient to return to Andejân.

The cold during the night was extremely intense, in-somuch that several of my people were frost-bitten in the hands and feet, and the ears of some of them were contracted and withered like an apple.

The moment that Tambol knew of my march, he had set out with all speed to the assistance of his elder brother, and now came up. It was about the time between afternoon and evening prayers when the blackness occasioned by the approach of Tambol's army became visible in the direction of Noukend. Confounded and disconcerted at the sudden and unnecessary retreat of his elder brother, as well as by my expeditious arrival, he instantly drew up. I said, 'It is God himself that has conducted them hither, and brought them so far to fatigue their horses! Let us come on, and by the favour of God, not one of those who have fallen into our hands shall escape out of them.' Laghari and some others, however, represented that the day was now far spent, that if we let them alone that day it was out of their power to escape during the night, and that we could afterwards confront them wherever they were found. This advice was followed, and they were not attacked. And thus, when, by a piece of rare good fortune, the enemy had come, as if to

put themselves in our power, we suffered them to get away without the slightest injury. There is a saying,

‘He that does not seize what comes into his grasp,
Must indulge his regret even to old age, and repine.

‘Occasion must be leaped on when it offers,
The doings of the indolent, out of season, are utterly worthless’

A peace was concluded on the following terms: That the country lying on the Akhsi side should belong to Jehangîr Mirza, and on the Andejân side to me that after we had settled our territories, I and Jehangîr Mirza should unite and proceed in concert against Samarkand

Aîsha Sultan Begum, the daughter of Sultan Ahmed, to whom I had been betrothed in the lifetime of my father and uncle, having arrived in Khojend, I now married her, in the month of Shâban. In the first period of my being a married man, though I had no small affection for her, yet, from modesty and bashfulness, I went to her only once in ten, fifteen, or twenty days. My affection afterwards declined, and my shyness increased, insomuch that my mother, the Khanem, used to fall upon me and scold me with great fury, sending me off like a criminal to visit her once in a month or forty days.

At this time there happened to be one belonging to the camp-bazar, named Baberî. There was an odd sort of coincidence in our names:

‘I became wonderfully fond,
Nay, to speak the truth, mad and distracted’

Before this I never had conceived a passion for any one, and indeed, had never been so circumstanced as either to hear or witness any words spoken expressive of love or amorous passion. In this situation I composed a few verses in Persian, of which the following is a couplet:

‘Never was lover so wretched, so enamoured, so dishonoured as I,
And may fair never be found so pitiless, so disdainful as thou!’

MEMOIRS OF BABER

Sometimes it happened that Baberi came to visit me, when, from shame and modesty, I found myself unable to look my guest direct in the face. How, then, is it to be supposed that I could amuse with conversation or a disclosure of my passion? From intoxication and confusion of mind I was unable to return thanks for the visit, it is not, therefore, to be imagined that I had power to reproach Baberi with departure. I had not even self-command enough to receive with the common forms of politeness. One day, while this affection and attachment lasted, I was by chance passing through a narrow lane with only a few attendants when, of a sudden, I met Baberi face to face. Such was the impression produced on me by this encounter that I almost fell to pieces. I had not the power to raise my eyes, or to articulate a single word. With great confusion and shame I passed on and left, remembering the verses of Mahomed Salikh

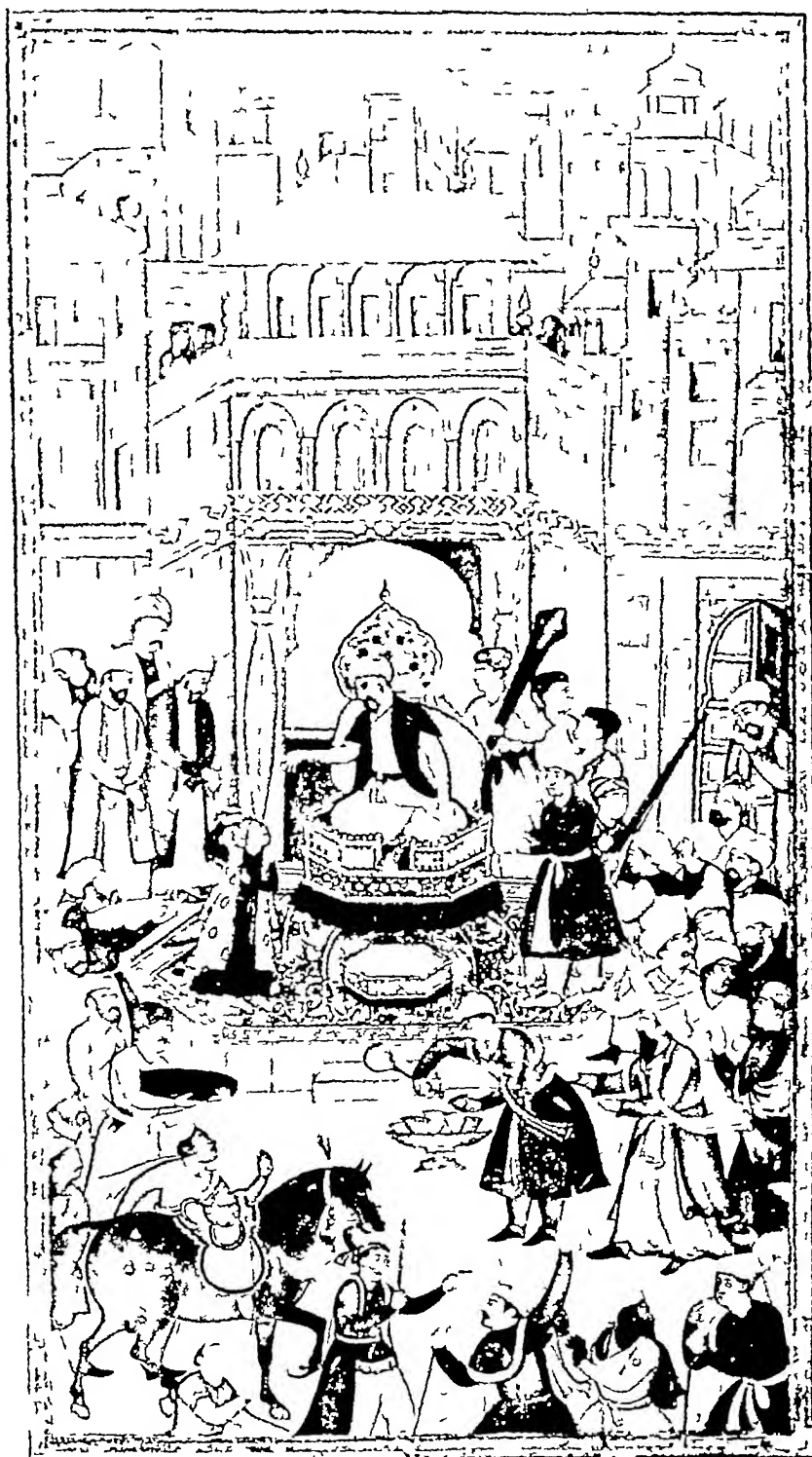
‘I am abashed whenever I see my love,
My companions look to me, and I look another way’

The verses were wonderfully suited to my situation. From the violence of my passion and the effervescence of youth and madness, I used to stroll bare-headed and barefoot through lane and street, garden and orchard, neglecting the attentions due to friend and stranger, and the respect due to myself and others

‘During the fit of passion, I was mad and deranged, nor did I know
That such is his state who is enamoured of a fairy face’

Sometimes, like a distracted man, I roamed alone over the mountains and deserts, sometimes I went wandering about from street to street in search of mansions and gardens. I could neither sit nor go, I could neither stand nor walk

‘I had neither strength to go nor power to stay,
To such a state did you reduce me, O my heart!’



TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 1500.

No sooner had the Uzbeks taken Samarkand, than we moved away from Kesh towards Hissar

My men, good and bad, amounted only to two hundred and forty. Having consulted with the whole of my Beks and officers, we finally were agreed in opinion, that as Sheibânî Khan had taken Samarkand so recently, the men of the place had probably formed no attachment to him, nor he to them, that if anything was ever to be done, this was the crisis, that could we succeed in scaling the fort by surprise, and making ourselves master of it, the inhabitants of Samarkand would certainly declare in our favour, they had nothing else for it, that if they did not assist me, at least they would not fight for the Uzbeks. At all events, after the city was once taken, whatever God's will might be, be it done. Having come to these conclusions, we mounted and rode rapidly the greater part of the night. By midnight we reached Yuret Khan. That night, learning that the garrison were on the alert, we did not venture to approach the place, but returned from Yuret Khan and as the morning dawned, we passed the river Kohik and regained Yarailâk.

One day I happened to be in the castle of Asfendek with some of my inferior nobles and officers. The conversation turned at random on a variety of subjects. I happened to say, 'Come, let us hit on a lucky guess, and may God accomplish it! When shall we take Samarkand?' Some said, 'We shall take it in the spring' (it was then the harvest), some said in a month, some in forty days, some in twenty days. Nevân Gokultâsh said, 'We shall take it within a fortnight,' and Almighty God verified his words, for we did take it within the fortnight.

About this time I had a remarkable dream. I thought that the reverend Khwâjeh Abdulla had come to visit me

I went out to receive him, and he came in and sat down. It appeared to me that a table was spread for him, but perhaps not with sufficient attention to neatness, on which account the holy man seemed to be somewhat displeased. Mûlla Bâba observing this, made me a sign. I answered him likewise by signs, that the fault was not mine, but the person's who had spread the table-cloth. The Khwâjeh perceived what passed, and was satisfied with my excuse. When he rose to depart I attended him out. In the hall of the house, however, he seemed to seize me by the right or left arm, and lifted me up so high that one of my feet was raised from the ground, while he said to me in 'Tûrki, 'Your religious instructor has counselled you.' A few days after this I took Samarkand.

Although I had once already set out to surprise Samarkand, and, after reaching the very suburbs, had been obliged to return, from finding the garrison on the alert, nevertheless, placing my confidence in the Almighty, I once more set out on the same enterprise, after mid-day prayers, and pushed on for Samarkand with the greatest expedition. Abdal Makâram was along with me. At midnight we reached the bridge of the Moghak, whence I detached forward seventy or eighty of my best men with instructions to fix their scaling-ladders on the wall opposite to the Lovers' Cave, to mount by them and enter the fort, after which they were to proceed immediately against the party who were stationed at the Firôzeh Gate, to take possession of it, and then to apprise me of their success by a messenger. They accordingly went, scaled the walls opposite to the Lovers' Cave, and entered the place without giving the least alarm. Thence they proceeded to the Firôzeh Gate, where they found Fâzil Terkhân, a merchant of Tûrkestan, that had served under Sherbânî Khan in Tûrkestan, and had been promoted by him. They instantly fell upon him and put him and a number of his retainers to the sword, broke the lock of the gate with axes, and threw it open. At that

very moment I came up to the gate and instantly entered. The citizens in general were fast asleep, but the shopkeepers, peeping out of their shops, and discovering what had happened, offered up prayers of thanksgiving. In a short time the rest of the citizens were apprised of the event, when they manifested great joy, and most hearty congratulations passed on both sides between them and my followers. They pursued the Uzbeks in every street and corner with sticks and stones, hunting them down and killing them like mad dogs: they put to death about four or five hundred Uzbeks in this manner. The Governor of the city contrived to make his escape, and rejoined Sheibânî Khan.

On entering the gate I had instantly proceeded towards the college, and, on reaching the latter, I took my seat under the arched hall. Till morning the tumult and war-shouts were heard on every side. Some of the chief people and shopkeepers, on learning what had passed, came with much joy to bid me welcome, bringing me such offerings of food ready dressed as they had at hand, and breathed out prayers for my success.

When it was morning, information was brought that the Uzbeks were in possession of the Iron Gate, and were maintaining themselves in it. I immediately mounted my horse and galloped to the place, accompanied only by fifteen or twenty men, but the rabble of the town, who were prowling about in every lane and corner, had driven the Uzbeks from the Iron Gate before I could come up.

Sheibânî Khan, on learning what was passing, set out hurriedly, and about sunrise appeared before the Iron Gate, with a hundred or a hundred and fifty horse. It was a noble opportunity, but I had a mere handful of men with me, as has been mentioned. Sheibânî Khan, soon discovering that he could effect nothing, did not stop, but turned back and retired.

I now left the town, and encamped at the Garden

Palace. The men of rank and consequence, and all such as were in office in the city, now came out and waited on me, offering me their congratulations. For nearly a hundred and forty years, Samarkand had been the capital of my family. A foreign robber, one knew not whence he came, had seized the kingdom, which dropped from our hands. Almighty God now restored it to me, and gave me back my plundered and pillaged country.

Some poets amused themselves in making memorial verses expressive of the date of the transaction. I still recollect a couplet of one of them.—

‘Tell me, then, my soul! what is its date?
Know that it is “*The Victory of Baber Behadai*”’

The numeral letters yield 1500

After my departure from Andejân, my mother and grandmother, with my family and household, had set out after me, and with great difficulty, and after enduring many hardships, had reached Uratippa. I now sent and brought them to Samarkand. About this time I had a daughter by Aisha Sultan Begum, the first wife whom I had married. She received the name of the Ornament of Women. This was my first child, and at this time I was just nineteen. In a month or forty days she went to share the mercy of God.

No sooner had I got possession of Samarkand, than I repeatedly dispatched ambassadors and messengers, one after another, to all the Khans and Sultans, Amirs and Chiefs, on every hand round about, to request their aid and assistance. These messengers I kept going back and forward without intermission. Some of the neighbouring princes, although men of experience, gave me an unceremonious refusal. Others, who had been guilty of insults and injuries to my family, remained inactive out of apprehension, while the few that did send me assistance, did not afford me such as the occasion demanded, as will be particularly mentioned in its place.

In the month of Shawal I marched out of the city to meet Sheibânî Khan, and fixed my headquarters in the New Garden, where I halted five or six days for the purpose of collecting the troops, and getting ready all the necessaries of war. Setting out, I proceeded, by successive marches, to Sir-i-pûl, after passing which I halted and encamped, strongly fortifying our camp with a palisade and ditch. Sheibânî Khân moved forward from the opposite direction to meet us, and encamped. There were about four miles between his camp and mine.

We remained four or five days in this position, and every day parties of my men fell in with the enemy, and skirmished with them. One day, a larger body of the enemy than usual advanced, and there was a very sharp fight, without any marked advantage on either side. Of my troops, one who had a standard, behaved ill, ran off, and got into the trench. There were persons who pretended to say that the standard was Sîdî Kara's, and, in truth, Sîdî Kara, though most valiant in speech, by no means made the same figure with his sword. One night Sheibânî Khan attempted to surprise us, but we were so well defended by our ditch and chevaux-de-frise, that he could effect nothing. After raising the war-shout on the edge of our ditch, and giving us a few discharges of arrows, they drew off.

I now turned my whole attention and solicitude to the approaching battle. Kamber Ali assisted me. Bâkî Terkhân, with a thousand or two thousand men, had arrived in Kesh, and would have joined me in two days. The Mîr's son, too, was advancing with a thousand or fifteen hundred men, who had been sent to my assistance by the Khan my maternal uncle, they had reached Dabûl, only sixteen miles from my camp, and would have joined me next morning. Such was our situation, when I precipitated matters, and hurried on the battle.

'He who with impatient haste lays his hand on his sword,
Will afterwards gnaw that hand with his teeth from regret.'

The cause of my eagerness to engage, was, that the stars called the eight stars were on that day exactly between the two armies, and if I had suffered that day to elapse, they would have continued favourable to the enemy for the space of thirteen or fourteen days. These observances were all nonsense, and my precipitation was without the least solid excuse.

In the morning, having made the troops array themselves in their armour, and caparison and cover their horses with cloth of mail, we marched out and moved towards the enemy, having drawn out the army in order of battle, with right and left wing, centre and advance. We marched right forward to the enemy, and they, on their part, appeared ready to receive us. When the lines of the two opposite armies approached each other, the extremity of their right wing turned my left flank, and wheeled upon my rear. I changed my position to meet them. By this movement the advance, which contained most of my experienced and veteran warriors and officers, was thrown to the right, and scarcely any of them were left with me. In spite of this, however, we charged and beat off the troops that came on to attack us in front, driving them back on their centre, and things even came to such a pass, that several of his oldest and most experienced officers represented to Sheibâni Khan, that it was necessary immediately to retreat, and that all was over. He, however, remained firm, and kept his ground. The enemy's right having, meanwhile, routed my left, now attacked me in the rear. As my advance had been thrown to the right on the change of our position, my front was left defenceless. The enemy now begun to charge us both in front and rear, pouring in showers of arrows. The Moghul troops which had come to my assistance did not attempt to fight, but, instead of fighting, betook themselves to dismounting and plundering my own people. Nor is this a solitary instance, such is the uniform practice of these wretches, the Moghuls, if they defeat the enemy they in-

stantly seize the booty ; if they are defeated, they plunder and dismount their own allies, and, betide what may, carry off the spoil. The enemy who were in front made several furious attacks on me, but were worsted and driven back, they, however, rallied again and charged, the division of the enemy that had gained our rear coming up at the same time, and discharging showers of arrows on our troops. Being thus surrounded and attacked both before and behind, my men were driven from their ground. In battle, the great reliance of the Uzbeks is on turning the enemy's flank. They never engage without doing this. Another of their practices is to advance and charge in front and rear, discharging their arrows at full gallop. pell-mell, chiefs and common soldiers and, if repulsed, they in like manner retire full gallop. Only ten or fifteen persons were now left with me. The river Kohik was near at hand, the extremity of my right wing having rested upon it. We made the best of our way to it, and no sooner gained its banks than we plunged in, armed at all points both horse and man. For more than half of the ford we had a firm footing, but after that we sank beyond our depths and were forced, for upward of a bowshot, to swim our horses loaded as they were with their riders in armour, and their own trappings. Yet they plunged through it. On getting out of the water on the other side, we cut off our horses' heavy furniture and threw it away. When we had reached the north side of the river, we were separated from the enemy. Of all others, the wretches of Moghuls were the most active in unhorsing and stripping the stragglers. Ibráhim Terkhán, and a great number of excellent soldiers, were unhorsed, stripped, and put to death by them.

'If the Moghul race were a race of angels, it is a bad race :
And were the name Moghul written in gold, it would be odious.

'Take care not to pluck one ear of corn from a Moghul's harvest ;
The Moghul seed is such that whatever is sowed with it is execrable.'

Advancing up the north side of the river Kohik, I recrossed it. Between the time of afternoon and evening prayers, I reached the Sheikh-Zadeh's gate, and entered the citadel.

Many Beks of the highest rank, many admirable soldiers, and many men of every description perished in this fight.

Next day I called together such of my adherents and cavaliers as were best qualified to offer advice, and held a general consultation. We came to a resolution to put the place in the best possible state of defence, and to maintain ourselves in it for life or for death. I and Kâsim Bek, with my most trusty and faithful adherents, formed a body of reserve. I had a public tent pitched for me in the midst of the city, in which I established my head-quarters. I distributed the other Beks and cavaliers at the different gates, and around the works, on the ramparts and defences.

After two or three days Sheibânî Khan approached, and took a station at some distance from the city. The idle and worthless rabble, assembling from every district and street of Samarkand, came in large bodies to the gate of the College, shouting aloud, 'Glory to the Prophet!' and clamorously marched out for battle. Sheibânî Khan, who, at the moment, had mounted, and was preparing to make an assault, did not venture to approach the place. Some days passed in this manner. The ignorant mob, who had never experienced the wound of arrow or sabre, nor witnessed the press of onset, or the tumult of battle, plucked up courage from these incidents, and ventured to advance to a very considerable distance from the works. When the old and experienced veterans remonstrated with them on such improvident and useless advances, they were only answered with reproach and abuse.

One day Sheibânî Khan made an attack near the Iron gate. The rabble, who had become very courageous, had advanced most valiantly a great way from the city, according to their custom. I made a party of horse follow them, to



cover their retreat. The whole of the Uzbeks dismounting, fought on foot, swept back the city rabble, and drove them in through the Iron gate. After the field was pretty well cleared of those who fought on foot, the cavalry of the enemy moved up towards the mosque, in order to attack. Upon this Kuch Beg, sallying forth on the Uzbeks who first came up, attacked them sabre in hand, and made a gallant and distinguished figure, in the sight of all the inhabitants, who stood looking on. The fugitives, occupied solely with their flight, had ceased to shoot arrows, or to think of fighting for their ground. I shot from the top of the gateway with a cross-bow, and those who were along with me also kept a discharge. This shower of arrows from above prevented the enemy from advancing up to the mosque, and they were forced to retire from the field.

During the continuance of the siege, the rounds of the rampart were regularly gone, once every night, sometimes by Kâsim Beg, and sometimes by other Beks and captains. From the Firozeh gate to the Sheikh-Zâdeh gate, we were able to go along the ramparts on horseback, everywhere else we were obliged to go on foot. Setting out in the beginning of the night, it was morning before we had completed our rounds.

One day Sheibânî Khan made an attack between the Iron gate and that of the Sheikh-Zâdeh. As I was with the reserve, I immediately led them to the quarter that was attacked, without attending to the Washing-green gate or the Needlemakers' gate. That same day, from the top of the Sheikh-Zâdeh's gateway, I struck a palish white-coloured horse an excellent shot with my cross-bow. It fell dead the moment the arrow touched it, but in the meanwhile the enemy had made such a vigorous attack, near the Camel's-Neck, that they effected a lodgment close under the rampart. Being hotly engaged in repelling the enemy where I was, I had entertained no apprehensions of danger on the other side, where they had prepared and brought with them twenty-five

or twenty-six scaling-ladders, each of them so broad, that two or three men could mount a-breast. Sheibânî Khan had placed in ambush, opposite to the city wall, seven or eight hundred chosen men with these ladders, between the Iron-smiths' and Needlemakers' gates, while he himself moved to the other side, and made a false attack. Our attention was entirely drawn off to this attack, and the men in ambush no sooner saw the works opposite to them empty of defenders, by the watch having left them, than they rose from the place where they had lain in ambush, advanced with extreme speed, and applied their scaling-ladders all at once between the two gates that have been mentioned. Kara Birlâs was stationed at the Needlemakers' gate, the station of the Washing-green gate was allotted to Shirîm Taghâi and his brothers. As there was fighting on the other side, the persons in charge of these works were not apprehensive of any danger at their posts, and the men on these stations had dispersed on their own business to their houses or to the markets. The Begs who were on guard had only two or three of their servants and attendants about them. Nevertheless Kuch Beg and another brave cavalier boldly fell upon the assailants, and displayed signal heroism. Some of the enemy had already mounted the wall, and several others were in the act of scaling it, when four of my people arrived on the spot, fell upon them sword in hand, with the greatest bravery, and dealing out furious blows around them, drove the assailants back over the wall, and put them to flight. Kuch Beg distinguished himself above all the rest, and this was an exploit for ever to be cited to his honour. He twice during this siege performed excellent service by his valour. Kara Birlâs too, who was almost alone in the works at the Needlemakers' gate, made a good stand. Khwâjeh Gokultâsh and Kûl Nazer, who were in their stations at the Washerman's gate, made a stout resistance with a few men, and attacking them in the rear, made a desperate charge. The attempt was completely defeated.

On another occasion Kâsım Beg sallied out, with a small body of men, by the Needle-makers' gate, and having beat the Uzbeks back, he dismounted several of them, and returned, bringing back their heads

It was now the season of the ripening of the grain, and nobody had brought in any new corn. As the siege had drawn out to great length, the inhabitants were reduced to extreme distress, and things came to such a pass, that the poor and meaner sort were forced to feed on dogs' and asses' flesh. Grain for the horses becoming scarce, they were obliged to be fed on the leaves of trees, and it was ascertained from experience, that the leaves of the mulberry and blackwood answered best. Many used the shavings and raspings of wood, which they soaked in water, and gave to their horses. For three or four months Sheibânî Khan did not approach the fortress, but blockaded it at some distance on all sides, changing his ground from time to time.

One night when everybody had gone to rest, towards midnight, he approached the Firôzeh gate, beating his large kettle drums, and raising the shout for an assault. I was then in the College, and was in considerable uneasiness and terror. After this they returned every night beating their kettle drums, and shouting, and making an alarm. Although I had sent ambassadors and messengers to all the princes and chiefs round about, no help came from any of them. Indeed, when I was in the height of my power, and had yet suffered neither discomfiture nor loss, I had received none, and had therefore no reason to expect it now that I was reduced to such a state of distress. To draw out the siege in hopes of any succour from them, was evidently needless. The ancients have said, that in order to maintain a fortress, a head, two hands, and two feet are necessary. The head is a captain, the two hands are two friendly forces that must advance from opposite sides, the two feet are water and stores of provisions within the fort.

Tambol having advanced from Andejân, Ahmed Beg

and a party of men brought out the Khan to take the field against him. They met in the vicinity of Lcklekan, but separated and retired without any action, and without even confronting each other. Sultan Mahmûd Khan was not a fighting man, and was totally ignorant of the art of war. When he went to oppose Tambol on this occasion, he showed pretty plain indications of want of heart, both in his words and actions. Ahmed Beg, who was a plain rough man, but sincere in his master's service and brave, said in his harsh way, 'What kind of a fellow is this Tambol, that he occasions you so much consternation and alarm? If your eyes are afraid, why, bind them up, and then let us engage him.'

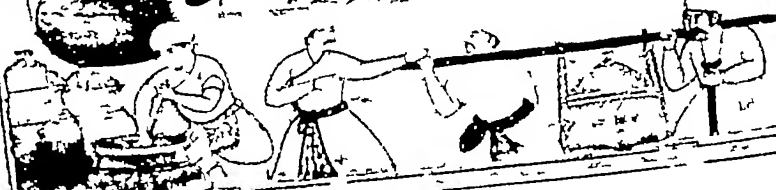
EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1501

THE blockade drawing out to a great length, provisions and supplies coming in from no quarter, and no succours or reinforcements appearing on any hand, the soldiers and inhabitants at length began to lose all hope, went off by ones and twos, escaped from the city and deserted. Sheibânî Khan, who knew the distress of the inhabitants, came and encamped at the Lovers' Cave. At this crisis, Uzun Hassan, who had been the chief ringleader in the rebellion of Jehangîr Mirza, by which I had formerly been obliged to leave Samarkand, and who had afterwards been the prime mover of much rebellion and sedition, as has been related, entered the town with ten or fifteen followers. The famine and distress of the townspeople and soldiers had now reached the greatest excess. Even men who were about my person, and others high in my confidence, began to let themselves down over the walls and make their escape. I now despaired of assistance or relief from any quarter. There was no side to which I could look with hope. Our provisions and stores, which from the first had been scanty, were now totally

دریافتیم که زمانی اینجا ششصد و بیست و دو خان و غلام و قراقران و در دره جنوبی که



منزل جدیدی که بود و در قفسه انداخت و راکشند بعد از آن که سیدین خانه



‘ Here we found nice fat flesh, bread of fine flour well baked, sweet melons, and excellent grapes in abundance, thus passing from the extreme of famine to plenty, and from an estate of danger and calamity to peace and ease ’

exhausted, and no new supplies could enter the city. In these circumstances, Sheibânî Khan proposed terms. Had I had the slightest hopes of relief, or had any stores remained within the place, never would I have listened to him. Compelled, however, by necessity, a sort of capitulation was agreed upon, and about midnight I left the place, accompanied by my mother, the Khanum. Two other ladies escaped with us, my eldest sister was intercepted, and fell into the hands of Sheibânî Khan, as we left the place on this occasion. Having entangled ourselves among the great branches of the canals of the Soghd, during the darkness of the night, we lost our way, and after encountering many difficulties, we passed Dîdâr about dawn. By the time of early morning prayers, we arrived at the hillock of Karbogh. On the road I had a race with Kamber Alî and Kâsîm Beg. My horse got the lead. As I turned round on my seat to see how far I had left them behind, my saddle-girth being slack, the saddle turned round, and I came to the ground on my head. Although I immediately sprang up and mounted, yet I did not recover the full possession of my faculties till the evening, and the world, and all that occurred at the time, passed before my eyes and apprehension like a dream, or a phantasy, and disappeared. The time of afternoon prayers was past ere we reached a village, where we alighted, and, having killed a horse, cut him up, and dressed slices of his flesh, we stayed a little time to rest our horses, then mounting again, before daybreak we alighted at the village of Dizak. Here we found nice fat flesh, bread of fine flour well baked, sweet melons, and excellent grapes in great abundance, thus passing from the extreme of famine to plenty, and from an estate of danger and calamity to peace and ease —

‘From famine and distress we have escaped to repose,
We have gained fresh life, and a fresh world.’

‘The fear of death was removed from the heart,
The torments of hunger were removed —’

This winter many of my soldiers, principally because we could not go out in plundering parties, asked leave to go to Andejân. Kâsim Beg strongly advised me that, as these men were going that way, I should send some article of my dress as a present to Jehangîr Mirza. I accordingly sent him a cap of ermine. Kâsim Beg then added, 'What great harm would there be in sending some present to Tambol?' Though I did not altogether approve of this, yet, induced by the pressing insistence of Kâsim Beg, I sent Tambol a large sword, which had been made in Samarkand. This was the very sword that afterwards came down on my own head, as shall be mentioned in the events of the ensuing year.

A few days after, my grandmother, who had remained behind in Samarkand when I left it, arrived with the family and heavy baggage, and a few lean and hungry followers.

This same winter Sheibânî Khan, having passed the river of Khojend on the ice, ravaged the country. As soon as I heard the intelligence, without regarding the smallness of my numbers, I mounted and set out for the districts below Khojend. It was wonderfully cold, and the wind had here lost none of its violence, and blew keen. So excessive was the cold, that in the course of two or three days we lost two or three persons from its severity. I required to bathe on account of my religious purifications, and went down for that purpose to a rivulet, which was frozen on the banks, but not in the middle, from the rapidity of the current. I plunged myself into the water, and dived sixteen times. The extreme chilliness of the water quite penetrated me. Next morning I passed the river of Khojend on the ice, but Sheibânî Khan had gone.

When I received certain accounts that the plundering party of the Uzbeks was retired, I dispatched a messenger with the intelligence to the Khan. Momin, the son of Mûlla Haider, on the plea of their previous acquaintance in Samarkand, invited Nevîân Gokultâsh and some others to an entertainment, and, when I left Beshkent, this party

stayed behind. The entertainment was given on the top of a precipice. Next morning I was informed that Neviân Gokultâsh had fallen over the precipice while intoxicated, and was killed. I dispatched Hak Nazîr with a detachment, who went, examined the place from which he had fallen, and, after interring him in Beshkent, returned back to me. They found Neviân's corpse at the distance of a bowshot from the spot where the entertainment had been given, at the bottom of a steep precipice. Many suspected that Momin, cherishing in his heart the grudge against Neviân, was the cause of his death. The truth no man can know. His death affected me deeply. There are few persons for whose loss I have felt so much. I wept incessantly for a week or ten days. A few days afterwards I set out for this place, and returned to Dehkat.

As Dehkat was in the low country, I passed where there is a spring, and came to the hill-country of Masîkha. On a stone which is on the brink of this spring, I caused the following verses to be inscribed:—

‘ I have heard that the exalted Jemshîd
 Inscribed on a stone beside a fountain,
 “ Many a man like us has rested by this fountain,
 And disappeared in the twinkling of an eye
 Should we conquer the whole world by our manhood and strength,
 Yet could we not carry it with us to the grave ” ’

In this hill-country the practice of cutting verses and other inscriptions on the rocks is extremely common.

At this time I had a visit from Mûlla Hajari, the poet. I composed the following:—

‘ Whatever skill the painter employs in portraying your features,
 you exceed his art,
 They call you Soul, but of a truth you are more admirable than
 the soul ’

I had composed the following verse in a well-known measure, and was dubious about the correctness of its

rhymes, as, at that time, I had not studied with much attention the style and phraseology of poetry. The Khan had pretensions to taste, and, moreover, wrote verses; though his odes, to be sure, were rather deficient both in manner and substance. I presented my verse, however, to the Khan, and expressed to him my apprehensions, but did not get such an explicit or satisfactory answer as to remove my doubts. Indeed, it was pretty clear that he had no great skill in poetic diction. The following is the quatrain in question:—

(*Turki*)—‘ No one remembers him who is in adversity ,
 A banished man cannot indulge his heart in happiness ,
 My heart is far from joy in this exile ,
 However brave, an exile has no pleasures ’

I afterwards learned, however, that, in the *Tûrki* language, *te* and *dal*, as well as *ghain*, *kaf*, and *caf*, by a poetical licence, are frequently interchanged for each other, for the sake of the rhyme.

Next morning, the army forming the large hunting circle, they hunted in the vicinity, and, advancing forward, at length halted at Burâk. The first ode that I ever composed was finished that day at this station. The ode was the following.

‘ I have found no faithful friend in the world but my soul ,
 Except my own heart I have no trusty confidant.’

The ode consists of six couplets, and all the odes that I afterwards wrote were composed in the same measure as this.

From hence, march by march, we proceeded till we reached the banks of the river of Khojend. One day, having passed the river, and ridden out on a pleasure party, I got ready a dinner, and made the whole officers and young people of the army merry. That same day the golden clasp of my girdle was stolen.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE YEAR 1502.

WHILE I remained at Tâshkend at this time, I endured great distress and misery. I had no country, nor hopes of a country. Most of my servants had left me from absolute want, the few who still remained with me were unable to accompany me on my journeys from sheer poverty. When I went to my uncle the Khan's Divân, I was attended sometimes by one person, sometimes by two, but I was fortunate in one respect, that this did not happen among strangers, but with my own kinsmen. After having paid my compliments to the Khan my uncle, I went in to wait on Shah Begum, bare-headed and bare-foot, with as much freedom as a person would do at home in his own house.

At length, however, I was worn out with this unsettled state, and with having no house nor home, and became tired of living. I said to myself, rather than pass my life in such wretchedness and misery, it were better to take my way and retire into some corner where I might live unknown and undistinguished, and rather than exhibit myself in this distress and debasement, far better were it to flee away from the sight of man, as far as my feet can carry me. I thought of going to China, and resolved to shape my course in that direction, as from my infancy I had always had a strong desire to visit China, but had never been able to accomplish my wish from my being a King, and from my duty to my relations and connections. Now my kingship was gone, my mother was safe with her mother and younger brother, in short, every obstacle to my journey was removed, and all my difficulties were at an end. By means of Abul Makâram, I suggested the idea that when an enemy so formidable as Sheibânî Khan had started up, from whom Tûrks and Moghuls had equal cause of apprehension, it was but prudent to watch with jealousy his progress at this moment, before he had completely subjected the Ulûses (the wander-

ing Tartars), and while he was not yet grown too powerful to be restrained, as it is said :

‘Extinguish to-day the flame while yet you can ,
For when it blazes forth, it will consume the world
Let not your foe apply his arrow to the bowstring,
When you can thrill him with your shaft.’

Besides that, it was twenty-four or twenty-five years since the Khan had seen my younger uncle, and I had never seen him at all, so that I thought it would be well if I went and visited my younger uncle, and acted as mediator, using my endeavours to procure an interview between them. My purpose was to escape from my relations under these pretexts, and I had now fully made up my mind to visit Moghûlstân, after which the reins were in my own hand. I, however, acquainted no person with my plan, nor could I impart it to any one, not only because my mother could not have supported the mention of such a proposition, but also because I had about me a number of persons who had attached themselves to me with very different hopes, and, supported by them, had shared with me my wanderings and distresses. It was unpleasant to communicate such a project to them. Abul Makâram started the subject to Shah Begum and my uncle the Khan, and gained their acquiescence, but it afterwards came into their head that I had asked permission to go in consequence of the poor reception they had given me, and this suspicion made them delay some time before granting me liberty to depart. At this crisis, a messenger came from the Khan, my younger maternal uncle, bringing certain information that he was himself coming. My plan, therefore, was totally disconcerted. A second messenger followed immediately after with news that he was close at hand. Shah Begum, with all of us, set out to meet my uncle.

We advanced as far as Yeghma, and not knowing precisely the time that the younger Khan would arrive, I had

ridden out carelessly to see the country, when all at once I found myself face to face with him. I immediately alighted and advanced to meet him, at the moment I dismounted the Khan knew me, and was greatly disturbed, for he had intended to alight somewhere, and having seated himself, to receive and embrace me with great form and decorum, but I came too quick upon him, and dismounted so rapidly that there was no time for ceremony, as, the moment I sprang from my horse I kneeled down and then embraced. He was a good deal agitated and disconcerted. At length he ordered his children the two Sultans to alight, kneel, and embrace me. After embracing these two Sultans I mounted, and we proceeded to join Shah Begum. The younger Khan soon after met and embraced Shah Begum, after which they sat down and continued talking about past occurrences and old stories till after midnight.

On the morrow, my uncle the younger Khan, according to the custom of the Moghuls, presented me with a dress complete from head to foot, and one of his own horses ready saddled. The dress consisted of a Moghul cap, embroidered with gold thread, a long frock of satin of China, ornamented with flowered needlework; a cuirass of China of the old fashion, with a whetstone and a purse-pocket, from this purse-pocket were suspended three or four things like the trinkets which women wear at their necks, such as a box for holding perfumed earth, and its little bag. On the left hand in like manner three or four things dangled. From this place we returned towards Tâshkend. My uncle the elder Khan came sixteen miles out from Tâshkend, and having erected an awning, seated himself under it. The younger Khan advanced straight up, and on coming near him in front, turned to the left of the elder Khan, fetched a circle round him till he again presented himself in front, when he alighted, and when he came to the distance at which the salaam is performed, he knelt nine times, and then came up and embraced him. The elder Khan, immediately on the younger

Khan's coming near, stood up and embraced him, they stood a long time clasping each other in their arms. The younger Khan, while retiring, again knelt nine times, and when he presented his tributary offering he again knelt many times, after which he went and sat down. All the younger Khan's men had dressed themselves out after the Moghul fashion. They had Moghul caps, frocks of China satin, embroidered with flowers after the same fashion, quivers and saddles of green shagreen, and Moghul horses dressed up and adorned in a singular style.

The younger Khan came with but few followers, they might be more than one thousand, and less than two. He was a man of singular manners. He was a stout, courageous man, and powerful with the sabre, and of all his weapons he relied most on it. He used to say that the mace, the javelin, the battle-axe, or broad axe, if they hit, could only be relied on for a single blow. His trusty keen sword he never allowed to be away from him, it was always either at his waist, or in his hand. As he had been educated, and had grown up, in a remote and out of the way country, he had something of rudeness in his manner, and of harshness in his speech. When I returned back with my uncle the younger Khan, tricked out in all the Moghul finery that has been mentioned, Abdal Makâram did not know me, and asked what Sultan that was, and it was not till I spoke that he recognised me.

Having come to Tâshkend, the two Khans speedily marched against Sultan Ahmed Tambol. The little Khan and myself were sent on in advance. After having crossed the hill-pass, they one day had the muster of the army, and found it amount to about thirty thousand horse. Reports reached us from the country in our front that Tambol had also collected his forces and advanced to Akhsi. The Khans, after consultation, determined to give me a detachment of the army, with which I should pass the river of Khojend, advance towards Ush, and take him in rear. Having separated from the Khans at Karnân, I passed the river of

Khojend on rafts and advanced upon Ush by a rapid march. At sunrise I came upon the fort of Ush while the garrison were off their guard, being totally ignorant of our approach. Seeing no remedy, they were forced to surrender. The inhabitants of the country, who were warmly attached to me, had longed much for my arrival, but, partly from dread of Tambol, partly from the distance at which I had been, had no means of doing anything, no sooner, however, had I arrived in Ush, than all the Ulûses poured in from the east and south of Andejân, from the hills and plains. The inhabitants of Uzkend, a fortress of great strength, which had formerly been the capital of Ferghâna, and lay on the frontier, declared for me, and sent a person to tender their allegiance. A few days after, the people of Maighinân having attacked and driven out their Governor, joined my party. The whole population on the Andejân side of the river of Khojend, with all the fortified places, except Andejân itself, declared for me. All this time, although so many forts were falling into my hands, and though such a spirit of insurrection and revolt had overrun the country, Tambol, without being in the least disconcerted, lay with his cavalry and infantry facing the Khans, between Akhsi and Karnân, where he encamped and fortified his position with a trench guarded by a chevaux-de-frise. A number of skirmishes and affairs took place, but without any visible advantage on either side.

Most of the clans and tribes, with the fortresses and country all around Andejân, now submitted to me, and the men of Andejân were no less eager to declare in my favour, but could not find a safe opportunity. It came into my head to advance one night to the vicinity of Andejân, to send in a man to confer with the chief inhabitants of the place, and, if they fell in with my views, to concert with them about introducing me, some way or other, into the fortress. With this plan I one evening set out from Ush, and having about midnight arrived within two miles of Andejân, sent forward Kamber Ali Beg, and several other

Begs, with instructions to introduce secretly into the place some person who might confer with the Khwâjeh and leading men. I and my party remained on horseback where they had left us, awaiting the return of the Begs. It might be about the end of the third watch of the night, some of us were nodding, others fast asleep, when all at once saddle-drums struck up, accompanied with martial shout and hubbub. My men being off their guard and oppressed with drowsiness, without knowing how many or few the enemy might be, were seized with a panic, and took to flight, no one trying to keep near another. I had not even time to rally them, but advanced towards the enemy, accompanied by three others. Except us four, all the rest ran off to a man. We had advanced but a little way when the enemy, after discharging a flight of arrows, raised the war-shout and charged towards us. One cavalier, mounted on a white-faced horse, came near me. I let fly an arrow, which hit the horse, and he instantly fell dead. They pulled up their bridles a little. My three companions said, 'The night is dark, and it is impossible to ascertain the number and force of the enemy, the whole troops which we had with us have fled. We are only four men, and with so small a number, what injury can we hope to do the enemy? Let us follow our party, rally them, and lead them back into action.' Having galloped up and overtaken our men, we horse-whipped some of them, but all our exertions were ineffectual to make them stand. Again we four turned and gave the pursuers a discharge of arrows. They halted a little, but when, after one or two discharges, they perceived that we were only four in number, they again set off in pursuit of our men, to strike them down and dismount them. In this way we three or four times covered and protected our people, and, as they would not be rallied, I repeatedly turned along with my three companions, when we kept the enemy in check, and brought them up with our arrows. They kept pursuing us for the space of five or six miles.

I said, 'These people are few in number, come, let us charge them' When we turned and put our horses to speed to charge them, they stood still. The scattered fugitives now began to collect and come in from different quarters, but there were many good soldiers who did not recover from their alarm, but went on straight to Ush

It was about the hour of bed-time prayers when we passed the river Jâkân, and encamped Just before the dawn, while our men were still enjoying themselves in sleep, Kamber Alî Beg galloped up, exclaiming, 'The enemy are upon us—rouse up!' Having spoken these words, without halting a moment, he passed on I had gone to sleep, as was my custom even in times of security, without taking off my frock, and instantly arose, girt on my sabre and quiver, and mounted my horse My standard-bearer seized the standard, but without having time to tie on the horse-tail and colours, but, taking the banner-staff in his hand just as it was, leaped on horseback, and we proceeded towards the quarter in which the enemy were advancing When I first mounted, there were ten or fifteen men with me By the time I had advanced a bowshot, we fell in with the enemy's skirmishers. At this moment there might be about ten men with me Riding quickly up to them, and giving a discharge of our arrows, we came upon the most advanced of them, attacked and drove them back, and continued to advance, pursuing them for the distance of another bowshot, when we fell in with the main body of the enemy Sultan Ahmed Tambol was standing, with about a hundred men. Tambol was speaking with another person in front of the line, and in the act of saying, 'Smite them! Smite them!' but his men were sideling in a hesitating way, as if saying, 'Shall we flee? Let us flee!' but yet standing still At this instant there were left with me only three persons. One arrow, which was then on the notch, I discharged on the helmet of Tambol, and again applied my hand to my quiver, and brought out a green-tipped barbed arrow, which my

uncle, the Khan, had given me. Unwilling to throw it away, I returned it to the quiver, and thus lost as much time as would have allowed of shooting two arrows. I then placed another arrow on the string, and advanced, while the other three lagged a little behind me. Two persons came on right to meet me: one of them was Tambol, who preceded the other. There was a highway between us. He, mounting on one side of it as I mounted on the other, we encountered on it in such a manner that my right hand was towards my enemy, and Tambol's right hand towards me. Except the mail for his horse, Tambol had all his armour and accoutrements complete. I had only my sabre and bow and arrows. I drew up to my ear, and sent right for him the arrow which I had in my hand. At that very moment an arrow of the kind called Sheibah struck me on the right thigh, and pierced through and through. I had a steel cap on my head. Tambol, rushing on, smote me such a blow on it with his sword as to stun me, though not a thread of the cap was penetrated, yet my head was severely wounded. I had neglected to clean my sword, so that it was rusty, and I lost time in drawing it. I was alone and single in the midst of a multitude of enemies. It was no season for standing still, so I turned my bridle round, receiving another sabre stroke on the arrows in my quiver. I had gone back seven or eight paces when three foot-soldiers came up and joined us. Tambol now attacked Dost Nâsir sword in hand. They followed us about a bowshot. Arigh-Jâkan-shah is a large and deep stream, which is not fordable everywhere, but God directed us aright, so that we came exactly upon one of the fords of the river. Immediately on crossing the river the horse of Dost Nâsir fell from weakness. We halted to remount him, and, passing among the hillocks, we proceeded by bye-roads towards Ush. When we were leaving these hillocks, Mazîd Taghâi met and joined us. He had been wounded by an arrow in the right leg, below the knee, though it had not pierced through and through, yet he

reached Ush with much difficulty. The enemy slew many of my best men. A great many cavaliers and soldiers also fell at the same time

The Khans having followed close after Tambol, took post in the vicinity of Andejân. I went on and saw my uncle, the younger Khan. In my first interview with him I had come upon him unexpectedly, and gone up to him at once, so that he had not even time to dismount from his horse, and our meeting took place without ceremony. On this occasion, however, when I had approached near, he came out hastily, beyond the range of his tent ropes, and as I walked with considerable pain, and with a staff in my hand, from the arrow-wound in my thigh, he ran up and embraced me, saying, 'Brother, you have behaved like a hero!' and taking me by the arm, led me into the tent. His tent was but small. As he had been brought up in a rude and remote country, the place in which he sat was far from being distinguished for neatness, and had much of the air of a marauder's. Melons, grapes, and stable furniture were all lying huddled about in the same tent in which he was sitting.

After getting up from the younger Khan's, I came to my own camp, when he sent me his own surgeon to examine my wound. He was wonderfully skilful in surgery. If a man's brains had come out, he could cure him by medicine; and even where the arteries were cut he healed them with the utmost facility. To some wounds he applied a kind of plaster, and to some wounded persons he gave a medicine to be swallowed. To the wound in my thigh he applied the skin of some fruits which he had prepared and dried, and did not insert a seton. He also once gave me something like a vein to eat, and said, 'A man had once the bone of his leg broken in such a manner that a part of the bone, of the size of the hand, was completely shattered to pieces. I cut open the integuments, extracted the whole of the shattered bones, and inserted in their place a pulverised

preparation; the preparation grew in the place of the bone, and became bone itself, and the leg was perfectly cured'

A few days after this, an event worthy of notice occurred. Tambol one night sent these officers with about two hundred chosen men to surprise Pâp. Syed Kâsim had gone to sleep without taking the proper precautions for guarding the place. The enemy having reached the fort, applied their scaling-ladders, mounted the walls, seized the gate, let down the draw-bridge, and introduced seventy or eighty of their men before Syed Kâsim received intelligence of what was passing. Half awakened from his sleep, he rushed out just as he was, in his vest, and with five or six others began to discharge arrows upon them, and molested them so effectually by dint of repeated attacks that he drove them out of the fort and cut off the heads of some of them, which he sent me. Though it was very unworthy of a Captain to go to sleep in this negligent manner, yet, with a few men, to drive out such a number of brave soldiers clad in mail, merely by hard fighting at the edge of the sword, was a most gallant exploit.

All this time the Khans were engaged in the siege of the fortress of Andejân.

Sheikh Bayezîd, who was in Akhsi, now made a show of being devoted to my interests, and sent a confidential messenger earnestly inviting me to repair to that city. The motive of this invitation was a wish to detach me, by any device, from the Khans, being persuaded that after I left them they could no longer maintain themselves in the country. It was done by him on an understanding with his elder brother Tambol. But to separate myself from the Khans and to unite myself with them was a thing to me altogether impossible. I let the Khans understand the invitation I had received. The Khans advised me by all means to go, and to seize Sheikh Bayezîd one way or another, but such artifice and underhand dealing were totally abhorrent from my habits and disposition, especially as there must have been a treaty, and I never could bring

myself to violate my faith. But I was anxious, by one method or another, to get into Akhsi, that Sheikh Bayezîd might be detached from his brother Tambol, and unite with me, till some plan should offer, of which I could avail myself with honour. I therefore sent a person to Akhsi, who concluded an agreement with him, when he invited me to the place, and I accordingly went. He came out to meet me, bringing my youngest brother Nâsir Mirza along with him, and conducted me into the fort, where he left me. I alighted at the apartments which had been prepared for me in my father's palace in the stone fort.

One morning Jehangîr Mirza came and joined me, having fled from Tambol. We were sitting in the southern portico of the Mausoleum, engaged in conversation, when Jehangîr Mirza whispered in my ear, 'It is necessary to seize Sheikh Bayezîd.' I answered him, 'Do nothing in a hurry, the time for seizing him is gone by. Let us try if we can get anything by negotiation, which is much more feasible, for at present they are very numerous, and we are extremely few; besides, their superior force is in possession of the citadel, while our inconsiderable strength only occupies the outer fort.' I know not whether he misunderstood it, or whether from perversity he acted knowingly, however that may be, he seized Sheikh Bayezîd. The men who were around closed in on every side, and, in an instant, dragged him away. There was now an end of all treaty, we therefore mounted for battle.

I entrusted one side of the town to Jehangîr Mirza; as the Mirza's followers were very few in number, I attached some of my own to him. I first of all went and put his quarter of the town in order, visiting all the posts, and assigning each man his station, after which I proceeded to the other quarters. In the midst of the town there was an open level green, in which I had posted a body of my men, and passed on. They were soon attacked by a much superior number of horse and foot, who drove them from

their ground, and forced them into a narrow lane. At this instant I arrived, and immediately pushed on my horse to the charge. The enemy did not maintain their ground, but fled. We had driven them out of the narrow lane, and were pushing them over the green, sword in hand, when my horse was wounded in the leg by an arrow. He bolted, and springing aside, threw me on the ground in the midst of the enemy. I started up instantly and discharged one arrow. Kâhîl, one of my attendants, who was on a sorry sort of steed, dismounted and presented it to me. I got on it, and having posted a party there, proceeded to the foot of another street. Muhammed Weis, observing what a bad horse I had got, dismounted and gave me his own, which I mounted. At this very instant Kamber Alî came to me wounded, from Jehangîr Mirza, with notice that Jehangîr Mirza had been attacked for some time past in such force that he was reduced to the last extremity, and had been compelled to retreat out of the town, and take to flight. I said to Ibrâhîm Beg, 'What is to be done now?' He was a little wounded, and I know not whether it was from the irritation of his wound or from his heart failing him, but he did not give me a very distinct answer. An idea struck me, which was to retreat by the bridge, and breaking it down behind us to advance towards Andejân. Baba Shirzâd behaved extremely well in this exigency. He said, 'Let us attack and force a passage through this nearest gateway.' According to this suggestion we proceeded towards the gate. Sheikh Bayezîd, with a quilted corslet over his vest, just then entered the gateway with three or four horsemen, and was proceeding into the town. I immediately drew to the head the arrow which was on my notch, and discharged it full at him. It only grazed his neck, but it was a fine shot. The moment he had entered the gate he turned short to the right, and fled by a narrow street in great perturbation. I pursued him. Kulî Gokultâsh struck down one foot-soldier with his mace, and had passed another

when the fellow aimed an arrow at Ibrâhim Beg, who startled him by exclaiming, 'Hai! Hai!' and went forward, after which the man, being about as far off as the porch of a house is from the hall, let fly at me an arrow, which struck me under the arm. I had on a Kalmuk mail, two plates of it were pierced and broken from the blow. After shooting the arrow, he fled, and I discharged an arrow after him. At that very moment a foot-soldier happened to be flying along the rampart, and my arrow pinned his cap to the wall, where it remained shot through and through, and dangling from the parapet. He took his turban, which he twisted round his arm, and ran away. A man on horseback passed close to me, fleeing up the narrow lane by which Sheikh Bayezîd had escaped. I struck him such a blow on the temples with the point of my sword that he bent over as if ready to fall from his horse, but supporting himself on the wall of the lane he did not lose his seat, but escaped with the utmost hazard. Having dispersed all the horse and foot that were at the gate, we took possession of it. There was now no reasonable chance of success, for they had two or three thousand well-armed men in the citadel, while I had only a hundred or two hundred at most in the outer stone fort, and, besides, Jehangîr Mirza, about as long before as milk takes to boil, had been beaten and driven out, and half of my men were with him. In spite of all this, such was my inexperience that, posting myself in the gateway, I dispatched a man to Jehangîr Mirza to request him to join me if he was near, and that we might make another effort. But, in truth, the business was over. Whether it was that Ibrâhim Beg's horse was really weak, or whether the Beg was fretful from his wound, I cannot tell, but he said to me, 'My horse is useless.' Immediately, Sulemân, a servant, dismounted and gave him his horse of his own accord, without anybody suggesting such a thing to him. It was a fine trait of character in the man. While we remained waiting at the gate, Kûchik Ali, who is now collector of Koel, displayed great bravery



خو رو زن کیم که اینها پس کی اندی باید رفته اسپ ادا تم اینها



We continued at the gate, waiting for the return of the messenger whom I had sent to call the Mirza. He returned and informed us that Jehangîr Mirza had already been gone some time in his retreat. It was no longer a season to tarry, and we also set off. Indeed, my halting so long was very ill advised. Not above twenty or thirty men now remained with me. The moment we moved off in our retreat, a great band of the enemy's troops came smartly after us. We had just passed the drawbridge when they reached the town side of it. Bend Ali called aloud to Ibrâhim Beg, 'You are always boasting and bragging. stop and let us exchange a few sword-cuts.' Ibrâhim Beg, who was close by me, answered, 'Come away, then. what hinders us?' 'The senseless madcaps! in such a moment of peril and discomfiture, to think of adjusting their rival claims. It was no time for a trial of skill, nor for delay nor loss of time. We retreated with all speed, the enemy being in full pursuit of us. They brought down man after man as they overtook us.

Ibrâhim Beg called out to me for assistance. I looked round, and perceived him engaged with a home-bred slave of Sheikh Bayezîd. I instantly turned my bridle to go back. Jân Kuli, who was by me, exclaimed, 'What time is this for turning back?' seized my bridle-reins, and hurried me on. Before we reached Sang, they had unhorsed the greater part of my adherents. After passing Sang we saw no more of the enemy in pursuit. We proceeded up the river of Sang, being at this time only eight in all. A sort of path leads up the river amidst broken glens, remote from the beaten road. By this unfrequented and retired path we proceeded up the river, till, leaving the river on the right, we struck into another narrow path. It was about afternoon prayers when we emerged from the broken grounds into the level country. A blackness was discernible afar off in the plain. Having placed my men under cover, I myself, on foot, ascended an eminence to spy what it might be, when suddenly a number

of horsemen galloped up the hillock behind us. We could not ascertain precisely how many or how few they were, but took to our horses and continued our flight. The horsemen who followed us were not in all above twenty, or twenty-five; and we were eight, as has been mentioned. Had we but known their number when they first came up, we should have given them waim play; but we imagined that they were certainly followed by a detachment sent in pursuit of the fugitives. Impressed with this notion, we continued our flight. The fact is, that the fliers, even though the most numerous, can never contend with the pursuers, though the inferior number. As it is said.—

‘The shout of Hûi is sufficient for vanquished bands’

Jân Kuli said, ‘We must not go on in this way, or they will take us all. Let you and Kuli Gokultâsh, therefore, select the two best horses of the party, and galloping off together keep one another’s horses at speed; perhaps you may escape.’ The advice was not bad, for, since we could not engage them, this presented a possibility of escape; but I could not consent in such circumstances to leave any of my followers dismounted in the midst of the enemy. At length, however, the party began to separate and fall behind each other. The horse on which I was mounted began to lag. Jân Kuli dismounted and gave me his horse. I leaped from my own and mounted his, while he mounted mine. At this very instant Shahîm Nâsir, with Abdal Kadûs, who had fallen behind, were dismounted by the enemy. Jân Kuli also fell behind, but it was no season for trying to shield or assist him. We therefore pushed our horses to their utmost speed, but they gradually flagged and fell off. The horse of Dost Beg, too, began to flag, and fell behind, and the horse which I rode likewise began to be worn out. Kamber Ali dismounting, gave me his own horse. He mounted mine, and presently dropped behind. Khwâjeh Hûssaini, who was lame, turned off towards the heights. I now remained alone

with Kuli Gokultâsh Our horses were too weak to admit of being put to the gallop, we went on at a canter, but the horse of Kuli began to move slower and slower I said to him, 'If deprived of you, whither can I go? Come, then, and be it death or life, let us meet it together' I kept on, turning from time to time, to see Kuli At last Kuli said, 'My horse is completely blown, and it is impossible for you to escape if you encumber yourself with me Push on, and shift for yourself Perhaps you may still escape' I was in a singularly distressful situation. Kuli also fell behind, and I was left alone Two of the enemy were in sight, the name of the one was Baba Seirâmi, that of the other Bandeh Ali, they gained upon me, my horse began to flag. There was a hill about two miles off, and I came up to a heap of stones I reflected with myself that my horse was knocked up, and the hill still a considerable way off What was to be done? I had about twenty arrows left in my quiver. Should I dismount at this heap of stones, and keep my ground as long as my arrows lasted? But it occurred to me again, that perhaps I might be able to gain the hill, and that if I did, I might stick a few arrows in my belt, and succeed in climbing it. I had great reliance on my own nimbleness Impelled by this idea, I kept on my course. My horse was unable to make any speed, and my pursuers got within arrow's reach of me, I was sparing of my arrows, however, and did not shoot. They also were somewhat chary, and did not come nearer than a bowshot, but kept on tracking me

About sunset I got near the hill, when they suddenly called out to me, 'Where do you intend going, that you flee in this manner? Your brother Jehangir Mirza has been taken, and brought in, and your brother Nâsir Mirza, too, has been seized.'

I was greatly alarmed at these words, because, if all three of us fell into their hands, we had everything to dread. I made no reply, but kept on for the hill When we had gone a certain way farther, they again called out

This time they spoke to me in a more gracious style than at first. They dismounted from their horses, and began to address me. I did not attend to what they said, but proceeded in my course, and, entering a glen, I began to ascend it, and went on till about bedtime prayers, when I reached a large rock about the size of a house. I went behind it, and came to an ascent of steep ledges, where the horse could not keep his feet.

They also dismounted and began to address me in a still more courteous and respectful style, expostulating with me, and saying, 'What end can it serve to go on in this manner, in a dark night, and where there is no road? Where can you possibly go?' Both of them, with a solemn oath, asserted, 'Sultan Ahmed wishes to place you on the throne.'

'I cannot,' I replied, 'confide in anything of the sort; and to join him is for me impossible. If you are serious in your wish to do me an important service, you have now such an opportunity as may not occur for years. Point out to me a road by which I may rejoin the Khans, and I will show you kindness and favour even beyond your highest wishes. If you refuse this, return by the way you came, and leave me to fulfil my destiny—even that will be no mean service.'

'Would to God,' they replied, 'that we had never come; but, since we have come, how can we desert you in this desolate situation? Since you will not accompany us, we shall follow you and serve you, go where you will.'

I answered, 'Swear then unto me by the Holy Book that you are sincere in your offer.' And they swore the heavy and awful oath.

I now began to have a certain degree of confidence in them, and said to them 'An open road was formerly pointed out to me near this same valley, do you proceed by it.' Though they had sworn to me, yet still I could not perfectly confide in them, I therefore made them go on before and followed them. We had advanced a mile or two, when we reached a rivulet. I said, 'This cannot be the road

by the open valley that I spoke of' They hesitated, and said, 'That road is still a considerable way forward.' The truth is, that we then really were on the very road of the open valley, and they were deceiving me and concealing the truth

We went on till midnight, when we again came to a stream They now said, 'We have not been sufficiently attentive, and have certainly left behind the road in the open valley.' I said, 'What then is to be done?' They said, 'The road to Ghiva lies a little farther on, and by it you may go to Ferket.' We kept on in our way, therefore, and continued travelling forward till the end of the third watch of the night, when we reached the river of Karnân, which comes down from Ghiva Baba Seirâmî then said, 'Stop here, while I go on before, and I will return after reconnoitring the road to Ghiva' He did return in a short time, and told us, 'A good many men are passing over the plain along the road; it will be impossible for us to go this way'

I was alarmed at this information I was in the midst of an enemy's country, the morning was near at hand, and I was far from the place to which I had wished to go 'Show me, then,' I said, 'some spot where we may remain concealed during the day, and, when it is night, we can get something for our horses, pass the river of Khojend, and then proceed straight for Khojend by the other side of the river' They answered, 'Hard by there is a hillock, in which we may hide ourselves' Bandeh Ali was the Darogha of Karnân He said, 'Neither we nor our horses can long stand out, unless we get something to eat I will go to Karnân, and will bring out whatever I can procure'

We therefore passed on, and took the road for Karnân We stopped about two miles from Karnân, while Bandeh Ali went on, and stayed away for a long time. The morning had dawned, yet there was no appearance of our man I began to be greatly alarmed Just as it was day. P^h Ali

came cantering back, bringing three loaves, but no grain for the horses. Each of us taking a loaf under his arm, we went off without loss of time, reached the hillock where we wished to remain in concealment, and, having tied our horses in the low, marshy, broken grounds, we all mounted the eminence, and sat keeping watch on different sides.

It was now near mid-day, when we spied Koshchî (the falconer), with four horsemen, coming from Ghiva towards Akhsi. I once thought of sending for the falconer, and getting possession of their horses by fair words and promises, for our horses were quite worn out, having been in constant exercise and on the stretch for a day and night, without having got a grain of anything to eat. But my heart immediately began to waver again, and I could not make up my mind to put confidence in them. I and my companions arranged, however, that as these people were likely to stay all night at Karnân, we should secretly enter the town, carry off their horses, and so make our escape to some place of safety.

It was about noon when, as far off as the sight could reach, we perceived something that glittered on a horse. For some time we could not distinguish what it was. It was, in truth, Muhammed Bâkir. He had been in Akhsi along with me, and in the dispersion that followed our leaving the place, when every one was scattered here and there, Muhammed Bâkir had come in this direction, and was now wandering about and concealing himself. Bandeh Alî and Baba Seirâmî said, 'For two days past our horses have had neither grain nor fodder. Let us go down into the valley, and suffer them to graze.' We accordingly mounted, and, having descended into the valley, set them a-grazing.

It was about the time of afternoon prayers, when we descried a horseman passing along over the very height on which we had been hiding. I recognised him to be Kâdir Berdî, the head man of Ghiva. I said to them, 'Let us call

Kâdir Berdî.' We called him, and he came and joined us. Having greeted him, asked him some questions, spoken obligingly and with kindness to him, made him promises, and disposed him favourably towards me by every means in my power, I sent him to bring a rope, a grass-hook, an axe, apparatus for crossing a river, provender for the horses and food for ourselves, and, if possible, a horse likewise, and we made an appointment to meet him on this same spot at bedtime prayers.

Evening prayers were over, when a horseman was seen passing from Karnân towards Ghiva. We called out, 'Who goes there?' He answered us 'This was, in truth, the same Muhammed Bâkir whom we had observed at noon. He had, in the course of the day, moved from the place in which he had lain concealed to another lurking-place, and now so thoroughly changed his voice that, although he had lived for years with me, I did not discover him. Had I known him, and kept him with me, it had been well for me. I was rendered very uneasy by this man's passing us; and durst not adhere to the assignation we had made with Kâdir Berdî of Ghiva, by waiting till the specified time. Bandeh Ali said, 'There are many retired gardens among the suburbs of Karnân, where nobody will suspect us of lurking. Let us go thither, and send a person to conduct Kâdir Berdî to us.' With this intention, we mounted, and proceeded to the suburbs of Karnân. It was winter, and excessively cold. They brought me an old mantle of year-old lambskin, with the wool on the inside, and of coarse, woven cloth without, which I put on. They also procured and brought me a dish of pottage of boiled millet-flour, which I ate, and found wonderfully comforting. I asked Bandeh Ali, 'Have you sent anybody to Kâdir Berdî?' He answered, 'Yes; I have.' These unlucky, perfidious clowns had in reality met Kâdir Berdî, and had dispatched him to Tambol at Akhsi.

Having gone into a house that had stone walls, and kindled a fire, I closed my eyes for a moment in sleep.

These crafty fellows pretended an extreme anxiety to serve me. 'We must not stir from this neighbourhood,' said they, 'till we have news of Kâdir Berdi. The house where we are, however, is in the very middle of the suburbs. There is a place in the outskirts of the suburbs where we might be quite unsuspected, could we but reach it.' We mounted our horses, therefore, about midnight, and proceeded to a garden on the outskirts of the suburbs. Baba Seirâmi watched on the terrace roof of the house, keeping a sharp look-out in every direction. It was near noon when he came down from the terrace, and said to me, 'Here comes Yûsef, the Darogha.' I was seized with prodigious alarm, and said, 'Learn if he comes in consequence of knowing that I am here.' Baba went out, and, after some conversation, returned, and said, 'Yûsef, the Darogha, says that, at the gate of Akhsi, he met a man on foot, who told him that the King was in Karnân, at such a place, that, without communicating this intelligence to any one, he had put the man into close custody, along with Wali, the treasurer, who had fallen into his hands in the action, after which he hastened to you full speed, and that the Begs are not informed of the circumstance.' I asked him, 'What do you think of the matter?' He answered, 'They are all your servants, there is nothing left for it but to join them. They will undoubtedly make you king.' 'But after such wars and quarrels,' I replied, 'with what confidence can I place myself in their power?' I was still speaking, when Yûsef suddenly presented himself, and, throwing himself on both his knees before me, exclaimed, 'Why should I conceal anything from you? Sultan Ahmed knows nothing of the matter, but Sheikh Bayezîd has got information where you are, and has sent me hither.'

On hearing these words, I was thrown into a dreadful state of agitation. There is nothing in the world which affects a man with more painful feelings than the near prospect of death. 'Tell me the truth,' I exclaimed, 'if

indeed things are about to go with me contrary to my wishes, that I may at least perform my last ablutions.' Yûséf swore again and again, but I did not heed his oaths. I felt my strength gone. I rose and went to a corner of the garden. I meditated with myself, and said, 'Should a man live a hundred, nay, a thousand years, yet at last he ——'

The Memoirs are here broken off, December 1502, and are resumed in June 1504. The intermediate fragment has never been discovered.

It appears that Baber succeeded in joining his uncles, the two Khans. They were soon afterwards defeated and taken prisoners by Sheibani Khan, and Baber again had to flee to the mountains of Ferghana, where he wandered for a year as a fugitive, often reduced to the greatest difficulties. When, at length, he left his native country for the last time, he crossed the high range of hills to the south of Ferghana and came to the country of Khosrou Shah, for whom he always professes a deep-rooted hatred. The murder of Baisanghar Mirza and the blinding of Sultan Masaud, both cousins of Baber, were sufficient to justify the terms of strong detestation in which he always speaks of him, but one author, at least, seems to insinuate that Baber hated the man whom he had injured, and that, though treated by Khosrou Shah with great hospitality, he stirred up a faction in his court, seduced the affections of his army, and by his intrigues forced him to abandon his troops, treasures, and dominions.

Baber certainly appears throughout to show uncommon solicitude to justify himself with regard to Khosrou Shah, whose hospitality he acknowledges. That he intrigued with the army Baber boldly avows, but appears to regard his conduct in that respect as only an act of fair hostility towards an inveterate foe.

When Baber resumes the history of his adventures, Sheibani Khan had conquered Samarkand, Bokhara, and Ferghâna, Sultan Husam governed Khorasân, Khosrou

Shah held Hissar and Badakshan, and Zулnûn Beg had the chief power in Kandahar, Sistan, and the country of the Hazaras.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1504.

IN the month of Moharrem I set out from the vicinity of Ferghâna, intending to proceed to Khorasân, and halted at the summer-cots of Ilâk, one of the summer pasturing districts belonging to the country of Hissâr. I here entered my twenty-third year, and began to apply the razor to my face. The followers who still adhered to my fortunes, great and small, exceeded two hundred, and fell short of three hundred. The greater part of them were on foot, with brogues on their feet, clubs in their hands, and long frocks over their shoulders. Such was our distress, that among us all we had only two tents. My own tent was pitched for my mother, and they erected for me at each stage a felt tent of cross-poles, in which I used to take up my quarters. Although I was on my way for Khorasân, yet, in the present state of things, I was not quite without hopes of still effecting something here among the territories and servants of Khosrou Shah. Scarce a day passed in which somebody did not join me, bringing such reports regarding the country and wandering tribes as served to feed my expectation.

Shîrîm Taghai, than whom I had not with me a man of more eminence, from a dislike to the plan of going to Khorasân, began to think of leaving me. He had sent away the whole of his family, and had remained with me in the fort alone, and without any encumbrance to impede his going off. He was rather unmanly, and had several times played the same game.

At this same period, Bâkî Beg repeatedly, and with much earnestness, urged his sentiments, that to have two sovereigns in one country, and two generals in one army, was an unfailing source of confusion and ruin, and inevitably

productive of rebellion, mutiny, and finally of dissolution, as the poet says—

‘Ten dervishes may repose on one cloak,
But two sovereigns cannot be contained in the same climate
The man of God, when he eats half a loaf,
Divides the other half among the poor and needy
If a king subdues a whole kingdom, nay a climate,
Still, as before, he covets yet another’

As there was every reason to expect that, in a few days, all the chiefs and servants of Khosrou Shah would come in and make their submission to the King, it was urged that it would be best, at the present moment, to send away Jehangîr Mirza. I could not be prevailed on to assent to this.

At this period, information arrived that Sheibânî Khan had taken Andejân. On hearing this news, Khosrou Shah, unable to support himself in Kûndez, took the route of Kâbul with his whole force. No sooner had he left Kûndez, than one of his old and confidential servants occupied that fortress, and declared for Sheibânî Khan. Just as I reached the Red River, three or four thousand heads of houses of the Moghul clans, who had been dependent on Khosrou Shah, came and joined me, with their whole families. Here, in order to gratify Bâkî Beg, I was obliged to discharge Kamber Ali, the Moghul, who has been so often mentioned. He was a thoughtless and rude talker, and Bâkî Beg could not put up with his manners.

When Khosrou Shah learned that the Moghul tribes had joined me, he felt his own helplessness, and, seeing no remedy left, sent his son-in-law as his envoy, to make professions of submission and allegiance, and to assure me that, if I would enter into terms with him, he would come and submit himself. As Bâkî Cheghânîânî, a man of much weight, though steadily attached to my service, yet was not without a natural bias in favour of his brother, he recommended a compromise to be made, on condition that

Khosrou's life should be spared, and his property left entirely to his own disposal. A treaty was accordingly concluded on these terms

I now left my encampment and marched against Kâbul. I halted at Khwâjeh-zeid. At this station the arms and armour which were left in the stores of Khosrou Shah were divided among the troops. There were about seven or eight hundred coats of mail, and suits of horse furniture. These were one part of the articles which Khosrou Shah left behind, there were many others beside, but nothing of consequence.

Till this time I had never seen the star Canopus, but on reaching the top of a hill Canopus appeared below, bright to the south. I said, 'This cannot be Canopus.' They answered, 'It is indeed Canopus.' Bâkî recited the following verses:—

'O Canopus, how far dost thou shine, and where dost thou rise?
Thine eye is an omen of good fortune to him on whom it falls.'

The sun was a spear's length high when we reached the foot of the valley and alighted.

Marching thence, we halted in the meadow of the white house. Khosrou Shah's men, who had long been inured to the practice of violence and to disregard of discipline, now began to oppress the people of the country. At last an active retainer of Alî Derbân having carried off a jar of oil from some person by force, I ordered him to be brought out and beaten with sticks. He expired under the punishment. This example put an end to such practices.

Leaving this station, the second march brought us to the pasture grounds of Châlâk, where we halted. Having held a consultation, in which the siege of Kâbul was determined on, we marched forward.

One day I ordered that the whole host, main body, right wing and left, after arraying themselves in complete armour, and clothing their horses in mail, should advance close up to the city, display their arms, and inflict a little chastise-



خود را درازنده و میان دروازه شهر و دروازه ارک آمده ملازمت کردند

‘ They came forward between the gates of the citadel and city and made obeisance ’

ment on the townspeople Our troops galloped insultingly close up to the Currier's gate The men who had advanced out of the town, being few in number, could not stand their ground, but took to flight, and sought shelter in the city. A number of the townspeople of Kâbul had gone out on the glacis of the citadel, on the side of an eminence, in order to witness the sight As they fled, a great dust arose, and many of them were thrown down. Between the gate and the bridge, on a rising ground, and in the high road, pits had been dug, in which pointed stakes had been fixed, and then the whole covered over with grass Sultan Kuli Chenâk, and several other cavaliers, fell into these pits as they pushed on at full speed On the right wing one or two cavaliers exchanged a few sabre blows with a part of the garrison who sallied out on the side of the Kucheh Bagh, but soon returned, as they had no orders to engage

The men in the town were now greatly alarmed and dejected, when Mokîm, through some of the Begs, offered to submit, and agreed to surrender Kâbul, on which he was introduced, and tendered his allegiance I did all that I could to dispel his apprehensions, and received him with affability and kindness It was arranged that he should next day march out with all his soldiers, adherents, effects, and property, and surrender the fortress

Next morning the Mirzas and Begs who had gone to the gate, observing an uproar and mobbing of people, dispatched a man to inform me of the circumstance, adding, 'Until you come we shall not be able to put a stop to the commotion.' I mounted, and having repaired to the spot, allayed the tumult, but not until I had ordered three or four of the rioters to be shot with arrows, and one or two to be cut to pieces Mokîm and his train then set out, and reached Tibâh in quiet and safety

In the latter end of the month of the latter Rabîa, by the blessing of Almighty God, I gained possession of Kâbul

and Ghazni, with the country and provinces dependent on them, without battle or contest.

The country of Kâbul is situate in the midst of the inhabited part of the world. It is surrounded on all sides by hills. In winter all the roads are shut for five months save one alone. The Kaffir robbers issue from the mountains and narrow paths and infest this passage. The country of Kâbul is very stony, and difficult of access to foreigners or enemies. Its warm and cold districts are close to each other. You may go in a single day to a place where snow never falls, and in the space of two astronomical hours you may reach a place where snow lies always. To the north-west lie the meadows of Chalak, but in the summer mosquitoes greatly annoy the horses.

Kâbul is not fertile in grain—a return of four or five to one is reckoned favourable. The fruits are grapes, pomegranates, apricots, peaches, pears, apples, quinces, damsons, almonds, and walnuts. I caused the cherry-tree to be brought here and planted. It produced excellent fruit and continues thriving. It was I who planted the sugar-cane.

‘Drink wine in the citadel of Kâbul, and send round the cup without stopping,

For it is at once a mountain and a sea, a town and a desert’

There is a place called Kilkeneh in a retired, hidden situation. Much debauchery has gone on at that place.

‘Oh, for the happy times when free and uncontrolled,
We lived in Kilkeneh with no very good fame’

It is an excellent and profitable market. Were the merchants to carry their goods to China or Turkey they would scarcely get the same profit on them. Every year eight to ten thousand horses arrive in Kâbul. From Hindustân every year twenty thousand pieces of cloth are brought by caravan. Also slaves, white cloths, sugar candy, drugs, and spices. Merchants are not satisfied with getting three or four hundred per cent.

Eleven or twelve languages are spoken in Kâbul—Arabic, Persian, Turki, Mogholi, Hindi, Afghani, Pashai, Parachi, Geberi, Bereki, and Lamghani.

The moment you descend the hill-pass you see quite another world. Its timber, grain, animals are all different, also the manners and customs of the people.

In the mountainous country of Kaferistan is the tomb of the holy Lamech, the father of Noah. On the skirts of these mountains the ground is richly diversified by various kinds of tulips. I once directed them to be counted, and they brought in thirty-three different sorts of tulips. There are large and beautiful spreading plane-trees. I planted gardens on the banks of the streams. On the side of a hill I directed a fountain to be built. Here the yellow Arghwan is very abundant, and when the flowers begin to bloom, the yellow mingling with the red, I know no place in the world to be compared to it.

I was told that in one of the villages of Ghazni there was a mausoleum, in which the tomb moved itself whenever the benediction on the Prophet was pronounced over it. I went and viewed it, and there certainly seemed to be a motion of the tomb. In the end, however, I discovered that the whole was an imposture practised by the attendants of the mausoleum. They had erected over the tomb a kind of scaffolding, contrived that it could be set in motion when any of them stood upon it, so that a looker-on imagined that it was the tomb that had moved, just as, to a person sailing in a boat, it is the bank which appears to be in motion. I directed the persons who attended the tomb to come down from the scaffolding; after which, let them pronounce as many benedictions as they would, no motion whatever took place. I ordered the scaffolding to be removed, and a dome to be erected over the tomb, and strictly enjoined the servants of the tomb not to dare to repeat this imposture.

The amount of the revenue of Kâbul, whether arising

from settled lands or raised from the inhabitants of the wastes, is 33,000*l*.

The Southern hills are very low, having little grass, bad water, and not a tree—an ugly and worthless country. At the same time, the mountains are worthy of the men; as the proverb says, ‘A narrow place is large to the narrow-minded.’ There are, perhaps, scarcely in the whole world such dismal-looking hill-countries as these

In Kâbul, although the cold is intense, and much snow falls in winter, yet there is plenty of firewood, and near at hand They can go and fetch it in one day The fuel consists chiefly of mastick, oak, bitter almond, and the kerkend. The best of these is the mastick, which burns with a bright light, and has also a sweet perfume; it retains its heat long, and burns even when green. The oak, too, is an excellent firewood, though it burns with a duller light, yet it affords much heat and light, its embers last a long time, and it yields a pleasant smell in burning It has one singular property: if its green branches and leaves are set fire to, they blaze up and burn from the bottom to the top briskly and with a crackling noise, and catch fire all at once It is a fine sight to see this tree burn The bitter almond is the most abundant and common of all, but it does not last. The kerkend is a low, prickly thorn, that burns alike whether green or dry, it constitutes the only fuel of the inhabitants of Ghazni.

Some days after the taking of Kâbul I partitioned out the country of Kâbul among those Beks only who had lately taken service with me Ghazni and its dependencies I gave to Jehangîr Mirza Nor was this the sole occasion in which I acted in this manner, but uniformly, whenever the Most High God prospered my undertakings, I always regarded and provided for those Beks and soldiers who were strangers and guests, in the first place, and in a superior manner to the Baberians, and those who were of Andejân In spite of this, it has been a great misfortune to me that I have always

been charged with favouring none but my own Baberians and the Andejânians. There is a proverb—

‘What is it enemies will not say?
What is it dreams will not display?
The gates of a city you may shut,
You cannot shut the mouth of an enemy’

It was determined to raise thirty thousand loads of grain from Kâbul, Ghazni, and their dependencies. As I was at that time very imperfectly acquainted with the revenues and resources of Kâbul, the amount was excessive, and the country suffered extremely.

It was at this time that I invented a kind of writing called the Baberi hand.

I had imposed a large contribution of horses and sheep on the Hazâras, and sent collectors to receive it. In a few days I heard from them that the Hazâras refused to pay, and were in a state of rebellion. Several times before they had been guilty of depredations on the roads of Ghazni. On these accounts I took the field for the purpose of falling on them by surprise, and having advanced by way of Meidân, we cleared the pass by night, and, by the time of morning prayers, fell upon the Hazâras and beat them to our heart's content. Returning thence, Jehangîr Mirza took leave to go to Ghazni, while I returned to Kâbul.

It was at last determined in council to make an irruption into Hindustân, and in the month of Shâbân, when the sun was in Aquarius, I set out from Kâbul towards Hindustân, and in six marches reached Adinapûr. I had never before seen the countries of warm temperature, nor the country of Hindustân. Immediately on reaching them I beheld a new world. The grass was different, the trees different, the wild animals of a different sort, the birds of a different plumage, the manners and customs of the wandering tribes of a different kind. I was struck with astonishment, and indeed there was room for wonder.

In one or two marches I passed the Khyber and marched against Kohat, which we fell upon and plundered about luncheon-time, and found a great many bullocks and buffaloes. We also made a great many Afghans prisoners; but the whole of these I sought out and released. In their houses immense quantities of grain were found. Our plundering parties pushed on as far as the river Indus, on the banks of which they staid all night, and the next day came and rejoined me. The army, however, found none of the riches which Bâki had led us to expect; and Bâki was greatly ashamed of his expedition.

Having tarried two days and two nights in Kohat, and called in our plundering detachments, we held a council to consider whither we should now bend our course, and it was determined that we should ravage the lands of the Afghans in Bânu and then return back. Kamari, who was well acquainted with the whole of Afghanistân, was our guide. He told us that, a little further on, there was a small hill on the right of the road, and that, if the Afghans should pass from their mountain to that hill, which was detached, we might then surround them on all sides and get hold of them. Almighty God accomplished our wishes. The Afghans having descended upon us, came and occupied that detached hill. I instantly dispatched a party of my men to take possession of the neck of ground between the mountain and the hill. I ordered the rest of the army to attack the hill on both sides, and, moving regularly forward, to punish them for their temerity. The moment my troops advanced upon them, the Afghans found that they could not stand their ground, and in an instant a hundred or a hundred and fifty of them were brought down, of these some were brought in alive, but only the heads of the greater part of them. The Afghans, when they are reduced to extremities in war, come into the presence of their enemy with grass between their teeth, being as much as to say, 'I am your ox.' This custom I first observed on the present



تسیر که بر می دارند اندک شربت بطوری بکنند بخورد رسیدن
دارا و بر داشتیم که ز آمدن تسیر که راه می افتاد شداد
حسب و فرود آورده آوردند

occasion, for the Afghans, when they could not maintain the contest, approached us with grass in their teeth. Orders were given for beheading such of them as had been brought in alive, and a minaret was erected of their heads at our next halting-place.

On the morrow I marched on and encamped at Hangu. The Afghans of that quarter had fortified a hill, or made it a *sangar*. I first heard of the word *sangar* on coming to Kâbul. They call a detached piece of a hill strongly fortified a *sangar*. The troops, immediately on coming up to the *sangar*, stormed and took it, and cut off a hundred or two hundred heads of the refractory Afghans, which they brought down along with them. Here also we erected a minaret of heads.

On ascending into the Bânu territory I received information that the tribes inhabiting the plain had erected a *sangar* in the hills to the north. I therefore dispatched against them a body of troops under Jehangîr Mirza. The *sangar* against which he went was that of the Kivî tribe. It was taken in an instant, a general massacre ensued, and a number of heads were cut off and brought back to the camp. A great quantity of cloth was taken on this occasion by the army. Of the heads a pile of skulls was formed in the Bânu country. After the taking of this *sangar*, one of the chiefs came to me with grass in his mouth and made his submission. I spared and gave up to him all the prisoners who had been taken alive.

After the sack of Kohat, it had been resolved that, after plundering the Afghans about Bânu, we should return back to Kâbul. After ravaging Bânu, however, persons perfectly acquainted with the whole routes represented to me that Desht was near at hand, that the inhabitants were wealthy and the roads good, and it was finally determined that, instead of returning, we should plunder the Desht and return back by that road.

The same night the Isakhail Afghans attempted a sur-

prise; but as I had been particularly cautious, they did not succeed. The whole army had been drawn up in battle-array, with right and left wing, centre and van, at their stations, armed and ready to maintain their posts, and there were foot-soldiers on the watch all round the camp, at the distance of rather more than a bowshot from the tents. In this manner the army passed the night. Every night I drew out the army in the same manner; and every night three or four of my most trusty chiefs in turn went the rounds about the camp with torches. I myself also took one round. Such persons as had not repaired to their posts had their noses slit, and were led about the camp in that state.

The stated prayers of the *Id* were recited on the banks of the Gomāl. In this year the feast of the new year fell remarkably near the *Ide-fitr*, there being only a few days between them. On the subject of this approximation I composed the following ghazel.—

(*Persian*)—‘ They are blest who see the new moon and the face of their beloved at the same time

But I, far from the countenance of my beloved and her eyebrow, experience only sorrow ’

‘ O Baber, deem thou the face of thy love the best of new moons, and an interview the best of Ids ’

For a better day than that thou canst not find, were there a hundred festivals of Nouroz, and a hundred Bairams ’

Leaving the banks of the Gomāl, we directed our course towards the south, and marched along the skirts of the mountain. We had advanced a mile or two, when a body of death-devoted Afghans presented themselves on an eminence close upon the mountain. We instantly proceeded to charge them at full gallop, the greater part of them fled away, the rest foolishly attempted to make a stand on some small hills, which were on the skirts of the heights. One Afghan took his stand on a detached hillock, apparently because all its other sides being steep and a direct

precipice, he had no road by which to escape Sultan Ali rode up, gained the summit, engaged and took him This feat, which he performed in my presence, was the occasion of his future favour and advancement. In another declivity of the hill, Kutluk engaged an Afghan in combat, and while they grappled, both of them fell tumbling from a height of twenty-five feet, at last, however, Kutluk cut off his head, and brought it in Kepek Beg grappled with another Afghan on a steep knoll, when both the combatants came rolling from the top midway down, but he also brought away the Afghan's head A great many of these Afghans fell into my hands on this occasion, but I released them all.

After leaving Desht, we marched to the bank of the Indus All the people of that neighbourhood passed the Indus in boats, and went to the other side A party that had passed immediately opposite to the island, trusting to the breadth of the river, drew their swords, and began to flourish them in an insulting way Among those who had passed over to the island one was Kul Bayesid the cupbearer, who alone, and on an unarmed horse, threw himself into the stream and pushed for them The water on the other side of the island was twice as broad as on this side. After swimming his horse for the distance of a bowshot in the face of the enemy, who stood on the banks, it got footing and took ground, with the water reaching as high as the flap of the saddle He stopped there as long as milk takes to boil, and having apparently made up his mind, seeing nobody following behind to support him, and having no hopes of receiving any assistance, he rushed with great speed on the enemy who occupied the bank. they discharged two or three arrows at him, but durst not stand their ground, and fled Alone, on an unarmed horse, devoid of all support, to swim across such a river as the Indus, to put the enemy to flight and occupy their ground, was a stout and manly feat. After the enemy had taken to flight our troops passed over, and got a considerable booty in cloth, cattle, and other

plunder. Although on several former occasions I had distinguished Kul Bayezîd by marks of favour, in consequence of the services which he had done, and of the bravery which he had repeatedly displayed, and had promoted him from the office of cook to be one of my tasters, yet after this last courageous achievement I was still more resolved to show him every possible mark of favour, and accordingly I did distinguish him in the most marked manner, as will be mentioned. In truth, he was worthy of every kind of attention and honour.

I made two other marches down the river Sind, keeping close to its banks. The soldiers had now completely knocked up their horses, from being perpetually on plundering parties, in the course of which, too, they had gained no booty worth the while. It consisted chiefly of bullocks. In our marches along the Indus, however, these were found in such plenty, that the meanest retainer in the army often picked up three or four hundred bullocks and cows.

For three marches I proceeded along the Indus, and separated from it right against the tomb near Dera Ghazi Khan, on reaching which we halted. As some of the soldiers had wounded several of the attendants at the tomb, I ordered one of the culprits to be punished, and he was hewn to pieces as an example. This tomb is very highly respected in Hindustân.

We marched from this station, and when I reached the next halting-place, I dispatched a body of soldiers, whose horses were still capable of service, under the command of Jehangîr Mirza, to attack and plunder the Afghans in that vicinity. At this stage the horses of the army began to be completely worn out, and every day two hundred horses, or three hundred horses, were obliged to be left behind. Three marches afterwards Jehangîr Mirza, having plundered a party of Afghans, brought in a few sheep.

In one or two marches more we reached Ab-istadeh, when a wonderfully large sheet of water presented itself to

our view. Nothing could be seen of the plains on the opposite side. The water seemed to join the sky, the hills and mountains on the farther side appeared inverted, like the hills and mountains on the farther side of the *mirage*, while the hills and mountains near at hand appeared suspended between earth and heaven. When I came within one mile of Ab-istâdeh a singular phenomenon presented itself. From time to time, between this water and the heavens, something of a red appearance was seen, like the ruddy crepuscule, which again by-and-by vanished, and so continued shifting till we had come near it. When we came close up we discovered that this appearance was occasioned by immense flocks of wild flamingoes, not of ten thousand or twenty thousand, but absolutely beyond computation, and innumerable, and in their flight, as they moved their wings, their red feathers sometimes appeared and sometimes were hid. But it was not flamingoes alone, innumerable flocks of every species of bird settled on the banks of this water, and the eggs of countless multitudes of fowl were deposited on every corner of its banks.

Passing the water-mound of Sirdeh we reached Ghazni. Jehangîr Mirza there entertained us, provided us with victuals, and did the honours of the place for a day or two. We reached Kâbul in the month of Zilhajeh.

Khosrou Shah, after flying from Ajer, had proceeded to Khorasân.

Khamzeh Sultan, having himself advanced as far as Serâi, on the banks of the river Amu, sent on his army to Kundez, under the command of his sons and Begs, who marched on to battle the instant they arrived. Khosrou Shah could not stand his ground, and his gross body was not sufficiently alert for flight, so that he was unhorsed and brought in as a prisoner. They then carried him to Kundez, where they struck off his head. The moment the news of his death arrived the spirit of discontent was quenched, as when water is thrown on fire.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1505.

In the month of Moharrem, my mother, the Nigâr Khânum, was seized with fever, and blood was let without effect. A Khorasân physician attended her; he gave her water-melons. but as her time was come she expired, after six days illness, and was received into the mercy of God.

At this period there was such an earthquake that many ramparts of fortresses, the summits of some hills, and many houses, both in the towns and villages, were violently shaken and levelled with the ground. Numbers of persons lost their lives by their houses and terraces falling on them. The whole houses of the village of Pemghân fell down, and seventy or eighty respectable householders were buried under the ruins. A piece of ground, about a stone's throw in breadth, separated itself, and descended for the length of a bow-shot, and springs burst out and formed a well in the place that it had occupied. For a distance of about thirty miles the whole space was so rent and fractured that in some places the ground was elevated to the height of an elephant above its old level, and in other places as much depressed, and in many places it was so split that a person might have hid himself in the gaps. During the time of the earthquake a great cloud of dust rose from the tops of the mountains. Nûr-alla, the lutanist, happened to be playing before me on the mandolin, and had also another instrument with him, he instantly caught up both the instruments in his hands, but had so little command of himself that they knocked against each other. Jehangîr Mirza was in the upper veranda of a palace. The moment the earth began to quake he threw himself down, and escaped without injury. One of his domestics was in the same story, when the terrace of this upper floor fell on him. God preserved him, and he did not sustain the slightest harm. Many rising-grounds were levelled. That same day there were

thirty-three shocks, and for the space of a month the earth shook two or three times every day and night. The Begs and soldiers had orders to repair the rents and breaches in the walls and fortifications of the fortress. By great diligence and exertions, in twenty days or a month all the parts of the walls that had been damaged or thrown down were repaired and rebuilt.

From the time that Bâki had joined me on the banks of the Amu, no person about me had been in higher estimation or authority than himself. The revenue of Kâbul arises from a stamp-tax. This I bestowed on him, and made him at the same time Darogha of Kâbul. Though distinguished by such marks of favour, he was never either thankful or contented, but, on the contrary, asked leave to go away. I gave in to his dissimulation, and in a tone of apology refused him the permission he solicited.

Every day or two he returned again, and used again to begin asking his discharge. His dissimulation, and eternal requests for liberty to depart, at length exceeded all bounds, so that, wearied to death with his conduct and teasing, I lost patience. He sent to remind me that I had made an agreement with him, that I would not call him to account till he had been guilty of nine offences towards me. I sent him a list of eleven grievances, the justice of which he was forced to acknowledge one after another. He submitted, and, having obtained leave, proceeded towards Hindustân with his family and effects. At this time Deria Khan was ravaging the country and robbing on the highways. Having got notice of Bâki's approach, he occupied the road, and took prisoner Bâki himself, and every person that was along with him. He put Bâki to death, and took his lady. Though I gave Bâki his discharge, and did him no harm, yet he was caught in his own evil, and taken in his own toils.

'Do thou resign to Fate him who injures thee,
For Fate is a servant that will not leave thee avenged.'

Down to the time of my arrival in Kâbul, the Turko-mân Hazâras had been guilty of numerous insults and depredations, I therefore determined to make an excursion against them. Marching one morning, we began to approach the place where the Hazâras had taken up their winter quarters. It was about the end of the first watch, when a man came from the advance with information that, in a narrow defile, the Hazâras had fortified and strengthened a ford with branches of trees, and had stopped the advance of our troops, who were now engaged with them. On hearing this, we instantly quickened our pace, and when we had advanced a little way, reached the place where the Hazâras had made their stand, and were in hot action. That winter the snow lay very deep, which rendered it dangerous to leave the common road. The banks of the stream, about the ford, were all covered with ice; and it was impossible to pass the river at any place off the road, on account of the ice and snow. The Hazâras had cut down a number of branches of trees, with which they had fortified the opposite landing-place. They ranged themselves both on horseback and foot, as well in the channel as along the banks of the river, and maintained the fight by discharges of arrows. We had come up hurriedly, and many of us had not taken time to put on our armour. One or two arrows passed whizzing by, and missed us. Ahmed Yûsef Beg, in evident alarm, said every time, 'You should not have come here unarmed—you must go back. I have observed two or three arrows graze close by your head.' I replied, 'Be you bold: as good arrows have many a time passed my head.' At this very moment, on our right, Kâsim Beg, with his band, discovered a place where the stream could be crossed, and having gained a footing on the opposite side, no sooner pushed on his horse to the charge than the Hazâras, unable to keep their ground, took to flight. The party that had got in among them followed them in close pursuit, dismounting and cutting numbers of them down. Sultan Kuli

went in pursuit of them, but it was impossible to leave the road on account of the quantity and depth of the snow. I myself accompanied the pursuers: we fell in with the sheep and herds of horses of the Hazâras, near their winter habitations. I collected, for my own share, to the number of four or five hundred sheep, and twenty or twenty-five horses. Sultan Kuli, and two or three other persons who were at hand, were joint sharers. I myself went twice on a plundering party. This was one of the times. The other was also against these very Hazâras, when, on my return from Khorasân, I led a foray against them, and brought off numbers of their horses and sheep. The wives and little children of the Hazâras escaped on foot to the snow-covered hillocks, and there remained. We were rather remiss in following them. The day, too, was far spent, we therefore went and halted at the huts of the Hazâras.

This winter the snow lay very deep. At this place, off the road, it reached up to the horses' cruppers, the picket appointed for the night-watch round the camp were obliged to remain on horseback till daybreak, in consequence of the depth of the snow.

Next morning we began to move back, and passed the night in the winter huts of the Hazâras. Marching thence we halted at Jenglik. Yerek Taghâi and some others having lagged a little behind, I directed them to proceed and take the Hazâras who had shot Sheikh Dervîsh. These wretches, dazed with bloodshed, still remained in the cave. Our people, on coming up, filled the cave with smoke, took seventy or eighty Hazâras, and passed a greater number under the edge of the sword.

At this time, on the 13th of Ramzan, I was attacked with so severe a lumbago that for forty days I was unable to move, and was obliged to be turned from one side to the other by my people. In consequence of the pain I suffered from my lumbago, they made a sort of litter, in which I was conveyed from the banks of the Bârân to the city.

where I was lodged in the Bostân-Serâ, and spent there some part of that winter. My first complaint was not removed, when I was seized with boils on my right cheek, which I got lanced. I also used laxatives for this disorder.

Jehangîr Mirza came thither to pay his respects to me. Yûsef and Behlol, from the time they had joined the Mirza, had been instigating him to seditious and treasonable practices. I did not on this occasion find Jehangîr Mirza what he had formerly been. In the course of a few days he set out from his quarters, put on his mail, and went off hastily for Ghazni. Almighty God knows that neither from me, nor any person dependent on me, did he receive any provocation by word or deed to occasion such violent measures. I afterwards learned that he assigned the following cause for his flight. At the time when Jehangîr Mirza came from Ghazni, and Kâsım Beg and the rest of the Begs went out to meet him, the Mirza had thrown off a falcon at a quail. When the falcon had overtaken it, and was in the act of seizing it in his pounces, the quail dashed itself on the ground. There was a cry, 'Has he taken it or not?' Kâsım Beg observed, 'When he has reduced his enemy to such a plight, he will not let him off. No doubt, he will take him.' This expression struck him, was misinterpreted, and was subsequently one of the causes of the Mirza's elopement. They also noted and treasured up one or two expressions still more idle and unmeaning than even this. In a word, having acted at Ghazni in the manner that has been mentioned, they passed through the midst of the Hazâras, and repaired to the Aimâks.

At this juncture Sultan Hussâm, having come to a determined resolution to check the progress of Sheibânı Khan, summoned all his sons to attend him. He also sent Syed Afzel (the dreamer) to summon me. It appeared to me expedient to march towards Khorasân on many accounts. One of these was, that when a mighty prince like Sultan Hussam, who filled the throne of Taimur, had collected his

sons and Amîrs from every quarter, with the intention of attacking so formidable an enemy as Sheibânî Khân, if others went on their feet, it became me to accompany them were it on my head, if others went against him with sticks, it was my business to go were it only with stones. Another consideration was, that Jehangîr Mirza having shown his hostility, it became necessary either to remove his animosity or to repel his aggressions.

In the latter part of this year Sultan Hussain, when he had collected an army for the purpose of acting against Sheibânî Khân, was called to the mercy of God. He had straight narrow eyes, his body was robust and firm, from the waist downwards he was of a slenderer make. Although he was advanced in years and had a white beard, he dressed in gay-coloured red and green woollen clothes. He usually wore a cap of black lamb's skin. Now and then, on festival days, he put on a small turban tied in three folds, broad and showy, and having placed a plume nodding over it, went in this style to prayers. He was a lively, pleasant man. His temper was rather hasty, and his language took after his temper. In many instances he displayed a profound reverence for the faith, on one occasion, one of his sons having slain a man, he delivered him up to the avengers of blood to be carried before the judgment-seat. He often engaged sword in hand in fight—nay, frequently distinguished his prowess hand to hand several times in the course of the same fight. No person of the race of Taimur ever equalled Sultan Hussain in the use of the scimitar. He had a turn for poetry. His poetical name was Hussainî. Many of his verses are far from being bad, but the whole is in the same measure. Although a prince of dignity, both as to years and extent of territory, he was as fond as a child of keeping butting rams, and of amusing himself with flying pigeons and cock-fighting.

He had fourteen sons and eleven daughters who lived. His son Mohamed Hussain was a blind and confirmed

heretic, but a brave and courageous warrior. He was a powerful archer and an excellent marksman. His double-stringed bow required 290 pounds weight to make the ears meet. His first wife was extremely cross-tempered, and fretted him beyond endurance. He was extremely fond of his hawks, insomuch that if he at any time learned that one of his hawks was dead or lost, he used to take the name of one of his sons, and say, 'Had such a son died, or such an one broken his neck, I would have thought nothing of it in comparison with the death or loss of such a hawk.' One son bore the poetical name of Canopus. He composed a sort of verses in which both the words and the sense are terrific, and corresponding with each other. The following is one of his couplets:—

‘During my sorrows of the night, the whirlpool of my sighs bears
the firmament from its place,
The dragons of the inundation of my tears beat down the four
quarters of the habitable world’

It is well known that on one occasion, having repeated these verses to Moulana Abdul, the Mulla said, ‘Are you repeating poetry or terrifying folks.’

The age of Sultan Hussain was certainly a wonderful age, and abounded with eminent men. Among these was Moulana Abdul. His poems are well known. The merits of the Mulla are of too exalted a nature to submit of being described by me, but I have been anxious to bring the mention of his name and an allusion to his excellencies into these humble pages.

Mulla Osman was a man of most extensive knowledge. It was he who said, ‘When a man has heard anything, how can he forget it?’ He had a most retentive memory. He received the name of the Ascetic, from the frequency of his fasting. He was madly fond of the game of chess, to such a degree, indeed, that when he met with two persons who understood the game, while he played with one of them he

used to lay hold of the skirts of the other's clothes to prevent his going away. He wrote a treatise in Persian which is extremely well composed, but has this fault, that all his examples are taken from his own verses, and he introduces each example by saying, 'as it is to be observed in this couplet of mine'

Of the painters the most eminent was Behzad. He was a very fine painter, but did not draw young beardless faces well, he made the neck too large. Bearded faces he painted extremely well.

Of the musicians Hussain Udi played with great taste on the lute, and composed well. He could play using only one string of his lute at a time. He had the fault of giving himself many airs when desired to play. On one occasion Sheibânî Khan desired him to play. After giving much trouble he played very ill, and besides did not bring his own instrument, but one that was good for nothing. Sheibânî Khan directed that he should receive a certain number of blows on the neck. This is one good deed that Sheibânî Khan did in his day.

Another musician was Binâi of Heri. At first he was unacquainted with the science of music, and Alî Shîr Beg had taunted him with his ignorance. But one year, having spent a winter at Merv, he applied himself to the study of music, and made such rapid progress, that before the summer he was even able to compose some pieces. He was a decided rival and opponent of Alî Shîr Beg. He had a sense of humour and a spirit of opposition, of which the following is an instance. One day at a chess-party, Alî Shîr Beg happening to stretch out his foot, it touched the hinder parts of Binâi, on which Alî Shîr Beg said, in a joking way, 'It is a sad nuisance in Heri, that you cannot stretch out your foot without coming in contact with the backside of a poet.' 'Nor draw it in again,' said Binâi, 'without coming in contact with a poet's backside.' At last his sarcasms drove Binâi from Heri, and he went to Samarkand. As

Ali Shîr Beg was the author and patron of many and useful inventions, every man who made any discovery or invention in his art or profession, in order to give it credit or currency, called it *the Ali Shîr*. Some carried their imitation of him to such an excess, that Ali Shîr Beg having tied a handkerchief round his head, on account of an ear-ache, that style of tying a handkerchief came to prevail, under the name of the *Ali Shîr fashion*. When Binâi left Heri for Samarkand, as he was setting out he ordered rather an uncommon sort of pad for his ass, and called it *the Ali Shîr*.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1506

In the month of Moharrem, I set out for Khorasân, in order to oppose the invasion of the Uzbeks. As Jehangîr Mirza had fled from the country of Ghazni, I judged it proper, for the purpose of reducing the Aimâks to order, and to prevent the disaffected from rising in revolt, to separate from our baggage and camp-followers, and to push forward with the great body of the army, in light array, with all practicable speed. Ambassadors also came to invite me, and soon after Muhammed Berendûk Birlâs himself arrived. What was to hinder me from joining them? I had marched 200 miles for that very purpose. I therefore went on along with Muhammed Beg. By this time the Mirzas had advanced as far as the Murghâb, where they were now encamped. On Monday, the 8th of Jemâdî ul Akhîr, I waited on them. Abul Mohsin Mirza came out a mile to receive me. When we came near each other, I on the one side dismounted, as he did on the other, after which we advanced and embraced, and then both mounted again. When we had gone on a little, and were come near the camp, Mozeffer Mirza and Ebn Hussain Mirza met me. They were younger than Abul Mohsin Mirza, and ought therefore to have come out farther than he did to receive

me Probably their delay was owing to their last night's excess in wine, rather than to pride, and arose from the effects of their over-indulgence in dissipation and pleasure, and not from any intentional slight Mozeffer Muza having complimented me, we embraced and saluted each other on horseback. I then saluted Ebn Hussain Mirza in the same way, after which we proceeded to the Hall of Audience, where we alighted It had been settled that, immediately on entering, I was to bow, whereupon Badîa-ez-Zeman was to rise up and come forward to the extremity of the elevated platform on which he sat, where we were to embrace As soon as I entered the Hall of State I bowed, and then, without stopping, advanced to meet Badîa-ez-Zeman, who rose up rather tardily to come to meet me Kâsim Beg who was keenly alive to my honour, and regarded my consequence as his own, laid hold of my girdle and gave a tug, I instantly understood him, and advancing more deliberately, we embraced on the spot that had been arranged In this large state-tent carpets were spread in four places Although it was not a drinking party, wine was put down along with the meat Drinking goblets of silver and gold were placed beside the food My forefathers and family had always sacredly observed the rules of Chengîz In their parties, their courts, their festivals, and their entertainments, in their sitting down and rising up, they never acted contrary to the institutions of Chengîz The institutions of Chengîz certainly possessed no divine authority, so that any one should be obliged to conform to them, every man who has a good rule of conduct ought to observe it If the father has done what is wrong, the son ought to change it for what is right. After dining we mounted our horses, and alighted where we had pitched our camp There was a distance of two miles between my army and that of the Mirzas

The second time that I came, Badîa-ez-Zemân was not so respectful as he had been the first time I therefore sent for Zâlnûn Beg, and told him to let the Mirza know that,

though but young, yet I was of high extraction—that I had twice by force gained my paternal kingdom, Samarkand, and seated myself on its throne—and that when a prince had done what I had, in the service of our family, by opposing the foreign invader from whom all these wars and troubles arose, to show me any want of respect was certainly not quite commendable. After this message was delivered to him, as he was sensible of his error, he altered his conduct, and showed me every mark of regard and estimation, with great good will.

On another occasion, when I went to Badiâ-ez-Zemân after noon-tide prayers, there was a drinking party. At that time I drank no wine. The entertainment was wonderfully good. On their trays there was every sort of delicacy. There were kabâbs of fowl, and of goose, and, indeed, dishes of every kind. Badiâ-ez-Zemân's entertainments were highly celebrated, and certainly this party was free, easy, and unconstrained. During the time I remained on the banks of the Murghâb, I twice or thrice was present at the drinking parties, when it was known that I drank no wine, they did not trouble me by pressing. I likewise once went to an entertainment of Mozeffer Mirza's. When the wine began to take effect, Mîr Beder began to dance, and he danced excessively well. The dance was one of his own invention.

The Mirzas, although very accomplished at the social board, or in the arrangements for a party of pleasure, and although they had a pleasing talent for conversation and society, yet possessed no knowledge whatever of the conduct of a campaign, or of warlike operations, and were perfect strangers to the arrangements for a battle, and the dangers and spirit of a soldier's life. While we remained on the Murghâb, news came that Hak Nazer, with four or five hundred men, had advanced, and was plundering the territory of Chichuktû. All the Mirzas met, but with all their exertions they could not contrive to detach a light party to cut up the plunderers. The road between Murghâb and

Chichiktû is forty miles I asked permission to manage the matter, but being afraid of their own reputation they would not suffer me to move.

A few days after, I had an invitation from Mozeffer Mirza, who lived in the White Garden The Palace stands in the midst of a garden It is a small building of two stories, but a very delightful little edifice They have bestowed most pains on the upper story In the four corners of it are four apartments, and between them, and enclosed by them, is one great hall. Within the four apartments are four royal balconies Every part of this hall is covered with paintings. Though Baber Mirza built this palace, the paintings were executed by orders of Sultan Abusaïd Mirza, and represent his battles and wars In the north end of the northern balcony, two carpets were placed facing each other On one of them Mozeffer Mirza and I sat, on the other sat Sultan Masaûd Mirza and Jehangîr Mirza As we were guests at Mozeffer Mirza's house, Mozeffer Mirza placed me above himself, and having filled up a glass of welcome, the cupbearers in waiting began to supply all who were of the party with pure wine, which they quaffed as if it had been the water of life The party waxed warm, and the spirit mounted up to their heads They took a fancy to make me drink too, and bring me into the same circle with themselves Although, till that time, I had never been guilty of drinking wine, and from never having fallen into the practice was ignorant of the sensations it produced, yet I had a strong lurking inclination to wander in this desert, and my heart was much disposed to pass the stream In my boyhood I had no wish for it, and did not know its pleasures or pains. When my father at any time asked me to drink wine, I excused myself, and abstained After my father's death, by the guardian care of Khwâjeh Kazi, I remained pure and undefiled I abstained even from forbidden foods, how then was I likely to indulge in wine? Afterwards when, from the force of youthful imagination and constitutional

impulse, I got a desire for wine, I had nobody about my person to invite me to gratify my wishes; nay, there was not one who even suspected my secret longing for it. Though I had the appetite therefore, it was difficult for me, unsolicited as I was, to indulge such unlawful desires. It now came into my head that, as they urged me so much, and as, besides, I had come into a refined city like Heri, in which every means of heightening pleasure and gaiety was possessed in perfection, in which all the incentives and apparatus of enjoyment were combined with an invitation to indulgence, if I did not seize the present moment, I never could expect such another. I therefore resolved to drink wine. But it struck me that, as Badia-*ez-Zemân* Mirza was the eldest brother, and as I had declined receiving it from his hand, and in his house, he might now take offence. I therefore mentioned this difficulty which had occurred to me. My excuse was approved of, and I was not pressed any more at this party to drink. It was settled, however, that the next time we met at Badia-*ez-Zemân* Mirza's, I should drink when pressed by the two Mirzas. At this party, among the musicians, was Hâfez Hâji. Hâfez Hâji sung well. The people of Heri sing in a low, delicate, and equable style. There was a singer of Jehangîr Mirza's present, by name Mîr Jân, who always sang in a loud, harsh voice, and out of tune. Jehangîr Mirza, who was far gone, proposed that he should sing. He sang accordingly, but in a dreadfully loud, rough, disagreeable tone. The people of Khorasân value themselves on their politeness, many, however, turned away their ears, others knit their brows, but, out of respect to the Mirza, nobody ventured to stop him. After the time of evening prayers, we went to the new Winter Palace, which Moeffer Mirza had built. By the time we reached it, Yûsef Ali Gokultâsh, being extremely drunk, rose and danced. He was a musical man, and danced well. After reaching this palace, the party got very merry and friendly. Moeffer Mirza gave me a sword and belt,



*‘ In the course of the party a roast goose was put down before me I said
frankly that I did not know how to carve it ’*

a corslet, and a white horse. In this palace Jânîk sang a Tûrki song. Mozeffar Mirza had two slaves. During the party, and while the company was hot with wine, they performed some indecent, scurvy tricks. The party was kept up late, and did not separate till an untimely hour. I remained that night in the palace where I was.

Kâsîm Beg, on hearing what had passed as to urging me to take wine, took the Mirzas to task, and reprimanded them most severely, so that they wholly laid aside any idea of urging me farther to drink. Badîa-ez-Zemân Mirza, having heard of Mozeffar's entertainment to me, made a party and invited me. Many of my young nobles and retinue were likewise invited. My courtiers could not drink wine out of respect to me. If they were desirous of indulging at any time, perhaps once in a month, or forty days, they used to shut their doors and sit down to drink in the greatest alarm, lest they should be discovered. Such were the men who were now invited. On the present occasion, when by any chance they found me not attending, they would hide their goblet with their hands, and take a draught in great dread, although such precautions were altogether unnecessary, as, at a party, I allowed my people to follow the common usages, and this party I regarded as one given by my father or elder brother. They brought in branching willow trees. I do not know if they were in the natural state of the tree, or if the branches were formed artificially, but they had small twigs cut the length of the ears of a bow, and inserted between them, so that they had a very fanciful appearance. In the course of the party, a roast goose was put down before me. As I was ignorant of the mode of cutting it up, or carving it, I let it alone, and did not touch it. Badîa-ez-Zemân Mirza asked me if I did not like it. I told him frankly that I did not know how to carve it. The Mirza immediately cut up the goose, and, dividing it into small bits, placed it again before me. Badîa-ez-Zemân Mirza was unequalled in such kind of attentions. Towards the

close of the party he presented me with a rich enamelled dagger, a kerchief of cloth of gold, and a horse.

During the twenty days that I stayed in Heri, I every day rode out to visit some new place that I had not seen before. My guide and provider in these visits was Yûsef Ali Gokultâsh, who always got ready a sort of collation, in some suitable place where we stopped. In the course of these twenty days, I saw perhaps everything worthy of notice, except the convent of Sultan Hussain Mirza. I saw the bleaching-ground, the garden of Ali Shîr, the paper-mills, the Royal Throne, the bridge of Kâh, the public pleasure-walks at the bleaching-ground, the Sefer Palace, the Throne of Nawâi, the Throne of Barkîr, the Throne of Hâjî, and the Thrones of Sheikh Umer and Sheikh Zeneddin; the mausoleum and tomb of Abdal-Rahman, the Fish-pond, the Colleges and Tombs of the Mirza, the College of Shâd-Begum, her tomb, and her Grand Mosque; the Raven Garden, the New Garden, the Zobeideh's Garden, the White Palace (built by Sultan Abusaîd), the Warrior's Seat, the Bridge of Mâlân, the Khwâjeh's Porch and White Garden, the Pleasure House, the Mansion of Enjoyment, the Lily Palace, the Twelve Towers, the Great Reservoir, the four edifices on its four sides, the five gates of the town walls, the King's Gate, the Irâk Gate, the Pirozâbâd Gate, the Khush Gate, and the Kipchâk Gate, the King's-Bazar, the great Public Market, the College of Sheikh-ul-Islâm, the Grand Mosque of the Kings, the City Garden, the College of Badîa-ez-Zemân, which is built on the banks of the river Anjîl, Ali Shîr Beg's dwelling-house, which they call the Palace of Ease, his Tomb and Great Mosque, which they call the Holy, his College and Convent, which they call the Pure; his Baths and Hospital, which they call the Purifying and Healthy; all these I saw in the short space that I had to spare.

The winter was come, and the snow began to fall in the mountains that separated me from my dominions. I still

felt considerable alarm as to the situation of things in Kâbul. At length, compelled by necessity, and unable to explain my real motives, I left under pretence of going into winter quarters. From the time we left it snowed incessantly. The farther we advanced, the deeper was the snow. Two or three days later the snow became excessively deep, it reached up above the stirrups. In many places the horses' feet did not reach the ground, and the snow still continued to fall. One Bishâi was our guide. I do not know whether it was from old age, or from his heart failing him, or from the unusual depth of the snow, but having once lost the road, he never could find it again, so as to point out the way. He and his sons, anxious to preserve their reputation, dismounted, and, after beating down the snow, discovered a road, by which we advanced. Next day, as there was much snow, and the road was not to be found with all our exertions, we were brought to a complete stand. Seeing no remedy left, we returned back to a place where there was abundance of firewood, and dispatched sixty or seventy chosen men, to return by the road we had come, and, retracing our footsteps, to find, under the higher grounds, any Hazâras or other people who might be wintering there, and to bring a guide who was able to point out the way. We halted at this spot for three or four days, waiting the return of the men whom we had sent out. They did indeed come back, but without having been able to find a proper guide. Placing our reliance on God, therefore, and sending on Bishâi before us, we again advanced by that very road in which formerly we had been stopped and forced to return. In the few days that followed, many were the difficulties and hardships that we endured, indeed, such hardships and suffering as I have scarcely undergone at any other period of my life. It was at this time that I composed the following verses

'There is no violence or injury of fortune that I have not experienced,
This broken heart has endured them all. Alas! is there one left
that I have not encountered?'

For about a week we continued pressing down the snow, without being able to advance more than two or three miles. I myself assisted in depressing the snow. Accompanied by ten or fifteen of my household, and by Kâsim Beg, his two sons, and two or three of his servants, we all dismounted and worked in beating down the snow. Every step we sank up to the middle or the breast, but we still went on trampling it down. As the vigour of the person who went first was generally expended after he had advanced a few paces, he stood still, while another advanced and took his place. The ten, fifteen, or twenty people who worked in trampling down the snow next succeeded in dragging on a horse without a rider. The first horse sank up to the stirrups and girths, and after advancing ten or fifteen paces, was worn out. Drawing this horse aside, we brought on another, and in this way ten, fifteen, or twenty of us trampled down the snow, and contrived to bring forward the horses of all our number. The rest of the troops, even our best men, and many that bore the title of Beg, without dismounting, advanced along the road that had been beaten for them, hanging down their heads. This was no time for plaguing them or employing authority. Every man who possesses spirit or emulation hastens to such works of himself. Continuing to advance by a track which we had beat in the snow in this manner, we proceeded by a place named Anjukan, and in three or four days reached a cave at the foot of the Zirrîn pass. That day the storm of wind was dreadful. The snow fell in such quantities that we all expected to meet death together. We halted at the mouth of it. The snow was deep, and the path narrow, so that only one person could pass at a time. The horses, too, advanced with difficulty over the road that had been beaten and trampled down, and the days were at the shortest. The first of the troops reached this cave while it was yet daylight. About evening and night prayers the troops ceased coming in, after which every man was obliged to dismount and halt.

where he happened to be. Many men waited for morning on horseback. The cave seemed to be small. I took a hoe, and having swept away and cleared off the snow, made for myself at the mouth of the cave a resting-place about the size of a prayer-carpet. I dug down in the snow as deep as my breast, and yet did not reach the ground. This hole afforded me some shelter from the wind, and I sat down in it. Some desired me to go into the cavern, but I would not go. I felt that for me to be in a warm dwelling and in comfort while my men were in the midst of snow and drift—for me to be within, enjoying sleep and ease, while my followers were in trouble and distress, would be inconsistent with what I owed them, and a deviation from that society in suffering that was then due. It was right that whatever their sufferings and difficulties were, and whatever they might be obliged to undergo, I should be a sharer with them. There is a Persian proverb, that ‘Death in the company of friends is a feast.’ I continued, therefore, to sit in the drift, in the sort of hole which I had cleared and dug out for myself, till bed-time prayers, when the snow fell so fast that, as I had remained all the while sitting crouching down on my feet, I now found that four inches of snow had settled on my head, lips, and ears. That night I caught a cold in my ear. About bed-time prayers a party, after having surveyed the cave, reported that the cave was very extensive, and was sufficiently large to receive all our people. As soon as I learned this, I shook off the snow that was on my head and face, and went into the cave. I sent to call in all such of the people as were at hand. A comfortable place was found within for fifty or sixty persons, such as had any eatables, stewed meat, preserved flesh, or anything else in readiness, produced them, and thus we escaped from the terrible cold, and snow, and drift, into a wonderfully safe, warm, and comfortable place, where we could refresh ourselves.

Next morning the snow and tempest ceased. Moving early, we trampled down the snow in the old way, and made

a road. Before we reached the bottom of the pass, the day closed on us. We halted in the defiles of the valley. The cold was dreadful, and we passed that night in great distress and misery. Many lost their hands and feet from the frost. Kepek lost his feet, Sewendûk his hands, and Akhi his feet, from the cold of that night. Early next morning we moved down the glen. Although we knew that this was not the usual road, yet, placing our trust in God, we advanced down the valley, and descended by difficult and precipitous places. It was evening prayer before we extricated ourselves from the mouth of the valley. It was not in the memory of the oldest man, that this pass had ever been descended, when there was so much snow on the ground, nay, it was never known that anybody even conceived the idea of passing it at such a season. Although for some days we endured much from the depth of the snow, yet, in the issue, it was this very circumstance which brought us to our journey's end. For, if the snow had not been so deep, how was it possible to have gone, as we did, where there was no road, marching over precipices and ravines? Had it not been for the extreme depth of the snow, the whole of our horses and camels must have sunk into the first gulph that we met with.

‘Every good and evil that exists,
If you mark it well, is for a blessing’

It was bed-time prayers when we reached Auleng, and halted. The people of Auleng, who had heard of us as we descended, carried us to their warm houses, brought out fat sheep for us, a superfluity of hay and grain for our horses, with abundance of wood and dried dung to kindle us fires. To pass from the cold and snow, into such a village and its warm houses, on escaping from want and suffering, to find such plenty of good bread and fat sheep as we did, is an enjoyment that can be conceived only by such as have suffered similar hardships, or endured such heavy distress. We staid one day at Auleng to refresh and recruit the

spirits and strength of our men; after which we marched on eight miles, and halted. Next morning was the festival of the Ramzân. The Turkomân Hazâras had taken up their winter quarters in the line of my march, with their families and property, and had not the smallest intimation of my approach. Next morning, on our march, we came among their huts, close by their sheep-folds, two or three of which we plundered; whereupon the whole of the Hazâras taking the alarm, abandoned their huts and property, and fled away to the hills with their children. Soon afterwards information was brought from the van, that a body of them, having posted themselves right in our line of march, had stopped our people in a narrow defile, were assailing them with arrows, and effectually prevented their advance. Immediately on learning this I hurried forward. On coming up, I found that there really was properly speaking no strait, but that some Hazâras had posted themselves on a projecting eminence, where they had gathered together their effects, had taken up a position, and were making discharges of arrows on our men.

(*Tûrkî verse*)

“They marked the distant blackening of the foe,
 And stood panic-struck and confounded,
 I came up and hastened to the spot,
 And pressing on, exclaiming, Stand! Stand!
 My aim was to make my troops alert,
 To fall briskly upon the foe.
 Having brought on my men, I placed myself behind,
 When not a man minded my orders,
 I had neither my coat of mail, nor horse-mail, nor arms,
 Except only my bow and arrows
 When I stood still, all my men stood still also,
 As if the foe had slain them all
 “He who hires a servant, hires him for his need,
 That he may one day be useful in time of danger,
 Not that he should stand still while his lord advances,
 That he should stand at ease while his lord bears the burden of the
 day,

He who is a servant should serve in due season,
Not loiter in thy service, so as not even to be seasoning to thy food.”
At length I spurred on my horse and advanced,
And, driving the foe before me, ascended the hill,
My men, on seeing me advance, advanced also,
Leaving their terror behind
Pushing forward, we quickly climbed the hill,
We went on without heeding their arrows,
Sometimes dismounting, sometimes on horseback
First of all came on the boldest warriors
The enemy showered down arrows from above,
But marking our resolution gave way and fled
We gained the top of the hill, and drove the Hazâras before us,
We skipped over the heights and hollows like deer,
We cut off the heads of the slain like deer,
We plundered them, we divided their property and sheep,
We slew the Tûrkoman Hazâras,
And made captives of their men and women,
Those who were far off too we followed and made prisoners
We took their wives and their children ’

The purport of these verses is, that when the Hazâras stopped the van, on its route, our men were all rather perplexed, and halted. In this situation I came up singly. Having called out to the men who were fleeing, ‘Stand! stand!’ I attempted to encourage them. Not one of them would listen to me, or advance upon the enemy, but they stood scattered about in different places. Although I had not put on my helmet, my horse’s mail, or my armour, and had only my bow and quiver, I called out that servants were kept that they might be serviceable, and, in time of need, prove their loyalty to their master, not for the purpose of looking on while their master marched up against the foe: after which I spurred on my horse. When my men saw me making for the enemy, they followed. On reaching the hill which the Hazâras occupied, our troops instantly climbed it, and, without minding the arrows which poured down on them, made their way up, partly on horseback, partly on foot. As soon as the enemy saw that our

men were in real earnest, they did not venture to stand their ground, but took to flight. Our people pursued them up the hills, hunting them like deer or game. Such property or effects as our troops could lay hold of, they brought in with them, and made the families and children of the enemy prisoners. We also gathered in some of their sheep, which we gave in charge to Yârek, while we proceeded forward. We traversed the heights and eminences of the hill-country, driving off the horses and sheep of the Hazâras, and brought them to Lenger, where we encamped. Fourteen or fifteen of the most noted insurgents and robber chiefs of the Hazâras had fallen into our hands. It was my intention to have put them to death with torture at our halting-ground, as an example and terror to all rebels and robbers; but Kâsim Beg happening to meet them, was filled with unseasonable commiseration, and let them go,

‘To do good to the bad is the same thing
As to do evil to the good
Salt ground does not produce spikenard,—
Do not throw away good seed on it’

The same pity was extended to the other prisoners, who were all set at liberty.

While we were plundering the Turkomân Hazâras, information reached us that Muhammed Hussain, and Sultan Birlâs, having drawn over to their interests the body of Moghuls who had staid behind in Kâbul, had declared Khan Mirza king, and were now besieging Kâbul. The chief persons in the fort of Kâbul had all conducted themselves well, had put the fort into a strong state of defence, and done everything to guard it. At Lenger-Taimur-Beg I wrote an intimation of my having arrived in this quarter, and sent it to the nobles who were in Kâbul, by Muhammed Andejânî, one of Kâsim Beg’s servants. I arranged with them that I was to descend by the Straits of Ghûrbend, and to march on and take the enemy by surprise.

The signal of my coming was to be, that I was to kindle a blazing fire after passing Minâr hill, and I enjoined them, on their side, to make a large fire in the Citadel, on the top of the Old Kiosk, which is now the Treasury, in order that we might be sure that they were aware of our approach and while we assailed the enemy from without, they were to sally out from within, and to leave nothing undone to rout the besiegers. Such were the instructions which I dispatched Muhammed Andejâni to communicate

Next morning, we left Lenger, and halted opposite to Ushter-sheher. Mounting again before day, we descended the pass towards night, and halted near Sir-e-pûl. Having refreshed our horses, and bathed them, we left at noonday prayers. Till we reached Tutkâwel there was no snow. After passing that place, the farther we went the snow was the deeper. The cold was so excessive, that, in the whole course of my life, I have seldom experienced the like. We descended to the skirts of the hill, and, being rendered quite powerless from the frost, kindled fires and warmed ourselves. This was not the place where we were to kindle our fires, but, being unable to stand the cold, we were obliged to kindle them to warm ourselves. The morning was near when we set out from the skirts of the hill. The snow reached up to the horses' thighs. This whole distance we passed, sinking and rising again in the snow. In this way we reached Kâbul undiscovered, by the appointed time.

Before we arrived at Bîbi Mah-rûî, we saw a fire blazing in the Citadel. We then knew that they were prepared. When we came to the bridge, I sent forward the right wing. With the centre and left wing, I advanced by way of Bâba Lûli. Khan Mirza had his quarters there. We had got to the burying-ground near Mûlla Baba's garden, when they brought back to me, wounded and unhorsed, a party that had pushed on in advance. This party, which

*‘ People who met me in the road turned back in confusion in the meanwhile we
marched on through the snow and thus reached Kābul ’*

گرفته بود کسی که از راه می برآمد بشویش میکشید این میان را

تمام در برف فرو رفته آمدیم ازین صفت در وقت فرض کابل آمدیم



had preceded us and had entered Khan Mirza's house, was four in number, these four persons, as soon as they came up, without halting, entered the palace where Mirza Khan lived. All was instantly in uproar and alarm. Khan Mirza mounted on horseback, galloped off, and escaped. Muhammed Hussain Koibegi's younger brother, also in the service of Khan Mirza, attacked Shîr Kâli, one of the four, sword in hand, and threw him down; but Shîr Kâli contrived to escape while his opponent was endeavouring to cut off his head. These four persons, still smarting from their sabre and arrow wounds, were brought to me as I have mentioned. The alley was narrow, and our horsemen crowded into it, so that a confusion and bustle ensued. Some of the enemy also collected, and though much crowded, made a stand. Our people could not get forward, and could not get back. I desired some men who were near me to dismount and push on. A few, having accordingly dismounted, advanced and assailed the enemy with their arrows. The enemy were shaken and took to flight. We waited a long time for the coming of our people from the fort, but they did not arrive in time for action. After the enemy were defeated, they began to drop in by ones and twos. On finding that Khan Mirza had escaped, we instantly left it. Ahmed Yûsef was behind me, when, at the gate of the Charbâgh, as I was coming out, a man to whom I had shown particular marks of favour in 1561, &c.

MEMOIRS OF BABER

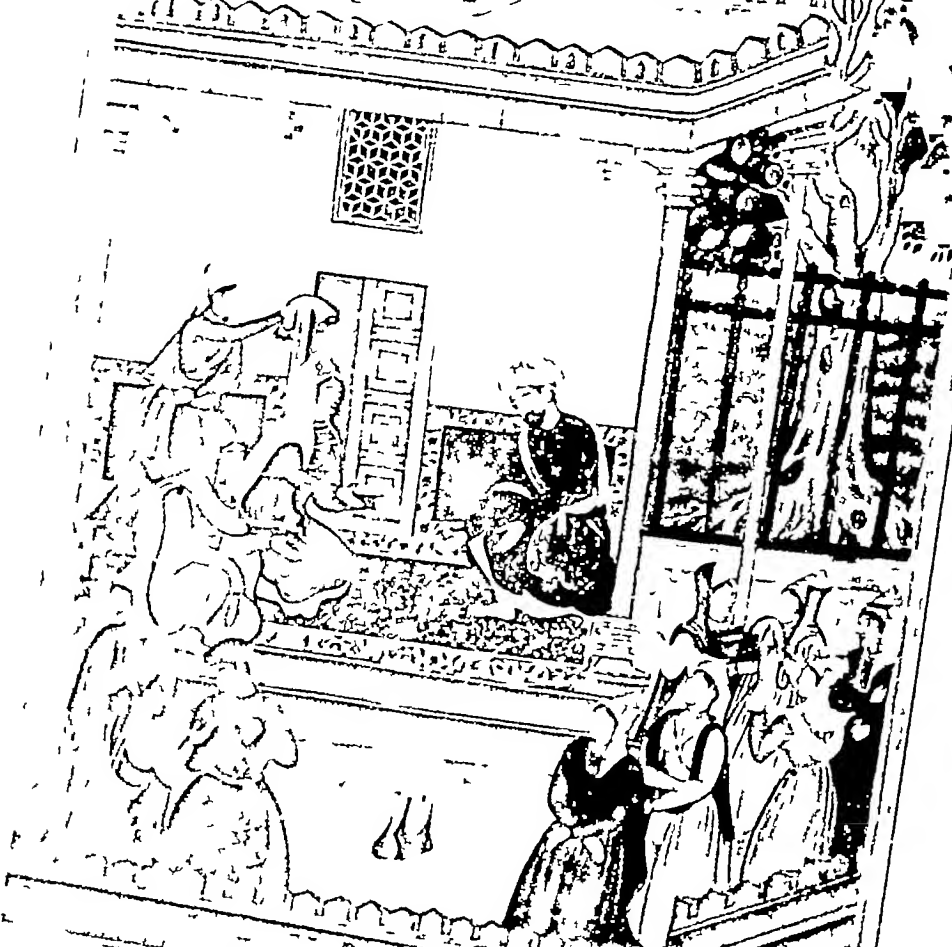
bare arm. The grace of God was conspicuous; it did not hurt a single hair,

‘However the sword of man may strike,
It injures not a single vein, without the will of God’

I had repeated a prayer, by virtue of which it was that Almighty God averted my danger, and removed from me the risk to which I was exposed. It was as follows:—
(*Arabic*)—‘O my God! Thou art my Creator, except Thee there is no God. On Thee do I repose my trust, Thou art the Lord of the mighty throne. What God will, comes to pass, and what He does not will, comes not to pass, and there is no power nor strength but through the High and Exalted God, and, of a truth, in all things God is Almighty, and verily He comprehends all things by his knowledge, and has taken account of everything. O my Creator! as I sincerely trust in Thee, do Thou seize by the forelock all evil proceeding from within myself, and all evil coming from without, and all evil proceeding from every man who can be the occasion of evil, and all such evil as can proceed from any living thing, and remove them far from me, since, of a truth, thou art the Lord of the exalted throne!’

Proceeding thence, I went to the garden, where Muhammed Hussain resided, but he had fled, and had escaped and hid himself. In a breach in the wall of the Little Garden, seven or eight archers kept their post. I galloped and spurred my horse at them, they durst not stand, but ran off. I came up with one of them, and cut him down. He went spinning off in such a way, that I imagined his head had been severed from his body, and passed on. The person whom I had hit was Gokultâsh, I struck him on the arm. Just as I had reached the door of Muhammed Hussain’s house, there was a Moghul sitting on the terrace, who had been in my service, and I recognised him. He fitted an arrow to his bow, and aimed at me. A cry rose on all sides,

امیر درویش سلطان حسین جمع شدند همه پیکان مقبره میرزا یوزدگرد گزیدند



دیدم اولیای ماسده سلطان یکم را نوزده دریا فتح اعدایان یکدیگر را آورده



** Shah Begum and the Princess were out of all measure alarmed, confounded, dismayed, and ashamed They could neither stammer out an excuse nor make the inquiries which politeness required **

“That is the King!” he turned from his aim, discharged the arrow and ran off. As the time for shooting was gone by, and as the Mirza and his officers had fled away or were prisoners, what purpose was to be answered by his shooting? While I was at this palace, Sultan Birlās, whom I had distinguished by favours, and to whom I had given Nangenhār, but who had nevertheless engaged in this rebellion, was taken, and dragged before me with a rope about his neck. Being in great agitation, he called out, ‘What fault have I done?’ ‘Is there a greater crime than for a man of note like you to associate and conspire with insurgents and rebels?’ As Shah Begum, the mother of my maternal uncle, was his sister’s daughter, I ordered them not to drag him in this shameful way along the ground, but spared his life, and did him no more harm.

Leaving this place, I directed Ahmed Kâsim Kûhber, who was one of the chiefs that had been in the fort, to pursue Khan Mirza with a body of troops. Close by the Garden of Paradise, Shah Begum and the Princess dwelt, in palaces which they had themselves erected. On leaving the palace, I went to visit Shah Begum and the Princess. The town’s-people and the rabble of the place had taken to their clubs, and were making a riot. They were eager to lay hold of men in corners, to plunder property, and profit by the confusion. I therefore stationed parties in different places, to chastise and disperse them, and to drive them away. Shah Begum and the Princess were sitting together in the same house. I alighted where I had always done, and went up and saluted them with the same respect and form as I had been accustomed to use. Shah Begum and the Princess were out of all measure alarmed, confounded, dismayed, and ashamed. They could neither stammer out an excuse, nor make the inquiries which politeness required. It was not my wish that they should feel uneasy, yet the faction which had been guilty of such excesses was composed of persons who, beyond all doubt, were not disposed to neglect the

abused me and scandalized my conduct to Sheibâk Khan. It was but a short time, however, before Sheibâk Khan put him to death, and thus sufficiently avenged me :—

‘Deliver over him who injures you to Fate,
For Fate is a servant that will avenge your quarrel.’

The party who were sent in pursuit of Khan Mirza, overtook him among the hillocks. He was unable to flee, and had neither strength nor courage enough to fight. They took him prisoner, and brought him before me. I was sitting in the old Hall of Audience, when he was brought in. I said, ‘Come and embrace me.’ From the agitation in which he was, he fell twice before he could come up and make his obeisance. After we had saluted I seated him at my side, and spoke encouragingly to him. They brought in sherbert. I myself drank of it first, in order to reassure him, and then handed it to him. As I was still uncertain of the fidelity of a considerable part of the soldiers, the country people, and the Moghuls, I sent Khan Mirza into custody at large in the house of his sisters, with order to him not to leave it; but, as the commotions and sedition still continued, and as the Khan’s stay in Kâbul did not seem advisable, I allowed him, in the course of a few days, to proceed to Khorasân.

After he had taken leave, I set out on a circuit through Bârân. In the spring, the country about Bârân is excessively pleasant. Its verdure is much superior to that of any place in Kâbul. It abounds with tulips of various species. I once desired the different kinds to be counted, and they brought me in thirty-four sorts. In truth, few places can be compared to these in the spring, either for beauty of prospect, or for the amusement of hawking.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1507.

I set out from Kâbul for the purpose of plundering and beating up the quarters of the Ghiljis. Four miles from the



'A man came and said there were some wild asses about, but that he had not told me before owing to the rocks and dangerous nature of the country. Now would I come

Ghilji camp, we observed a blackness, which was either owing to the Ghiljis being in motion, or to smoke. The young and inexperienced men of the army all set forward at full speed, I followed them, shooting arrows at their horses, and at length checked their speed. When five or six thousand men set out on a pillaging party, it is extremely difficult to maintain discipline. The Almighty directed everything favourably. Our people stopped. When we had got about a mile from the enemy, we saw the blackness occasioned by the encampment of the Afghâns, and sent on the pillagers. In this foray we took a number of sheep. I had never seen so many taken at any other time. While we were dismounted, and employed in collecting the property and spoil, the enemy gathered in troops all around, descended into the plain, and provoked us to fight. Some of the Beks and men having gone out, surrounded and took one body of them whole and entire, and put every man of them to the sword. Nâzir Mirza attacked another body of them, and entirely cut them to pieces. A minaret of skulls was erected of the heads of these Afghâns.

Some of my Beks and officers were directed to go and separate the fifth of the spoil. Kâsım Bek, and some others, as a mark of favour, had not the fifth taken from them. The fifth so taken was returned at sixteen thousand sheep, so that the spoil amounted to eighty thousand, and, making allowance for losses and for the fifths not demanded, must have amounted to a hundred thousand sheep.

Marching from this ground next morning, I directed the large hunting-ring to be formed by the troops in the plain of Katteh-wâz, for the purpose of the chase. The deer and wild ass of this plain are always very fat, and in great plenty. A number of deer and wild ass were enclosed in our circle, and many of them were killed. During the hunt I pursued a wild ass, and, on coming near, discharged first one arrow at it, and then another, but the wounds were not such as to bring it down. Yet, in consequence of these two wounds, it

ran slower than before Spurring on my horse, and getting nearer it, I hit it such a blow with my sword on the back part of the head, behind its two ears, that its windpipe was cut, and it fell tumbling over, its hind legs striking my stirrups My sword cut excessively well, and it was a wonderfully fat wild ass. Its rib might be somewhat less than two feet in length.

Sheibâk Khan, having passed the Murghâb in the month of Mohaïrem, advanced and laid siege to Herat On Sheibâk Khan's arrival, after two or three days, the chief men of the city, having made a capitulation, took the keys of the walled town, went out to meet him, and surrendered the place

After the taking of Herat, Sheibâk Khan behaved extremely ill to the children and wives of the kings, nor to them alone, he conducted himself towards everybody in a rude, unseemly, and unworthy manner, forfeiting his good name and glory for a little wretched earthly pelf The first of Sheibâk Khan's misdeeds was, that for the sake of some worldly dirt, he ordered Khadijeh Begum to be given up to Shah Mansur, to be plundered and treated as one of his meanest female slaves Again, he gave the reverend and respected Saint, Sheikh Puriân, to the Moghul Abdul to be plundered, each of his sons he gave to a different person for the same purpose He gave the poets and authors to Mulla Binâi to be squeezed Among the *jeux d'esprit* on this subject, one tetrastich is openly repeated in Khorasân —

'Except only Abdullah Kirkhar, to-day,
There is not a poet can show the colour of money,
Binâi is inflamed with hopes of getting hold of the poet's cash,
But he will only get hold of a Kirkhar'

Sheibâk Khan, in spite of his supreme ignorance, had the vanity to deliver lectures in explanation of the Korân. He also took a pen and corrected the writing and drawings of Sultan Ali, and Behzâd the painter When at any time he

happened to have composed one of his dull couplets, he read it from the pulpit, hung it up in the public market, and levied a benevolence from the town's-people on the joyful occasion. He did know something of reading the Korân, but he was guilty of a number of stupid, absurd, presumptuous, infidel words and deeds, such as I have mentioned.

At this time Shah Beg and his younger brother sent me several ambassadors in succession, calling upon me to come to their succour. At a season like this, when the Uzbeks had entirely occupied the country, it did not appear to me becoming to remain idly looking on. Having consulted with all my Amîrs, it was arranged that we should march to their assistance with our army.

When we reached Kîlât, the merchants of Hindustân, who had come to traffic, had not time to escape, as our soldiers came upon them quite unexpectedly. The general opinion was that, at a period of confusion like the present, it was fair to plunder all such as came from a foreign country. I would not acquiesce in this. I asked, 'What offence have these merchants committed? If, for the love of God, we suffer these trifling things to escape, God will one day give us great and important benefits in return, as happened to us not very long ago, when we were on our expedition against the Ghilzais, the Mehmends, with their flocks, their whole effects, wives, and families, were within a single farsang of the army. Many urged us to fall upon them. From the same considerations that influence me now, I combated that proposal, and the very next morning Almighty God, from the property of the refractory Afghâns, the Ghilzais, bestowed on the army so much spoil as had never perhaps been taken in any other inroad.' We encamped after passing Kîlât, and merely levied something from each merchant by way of tribute.

After passing Kîlât, I was joined by Khan Mirza, whom I had suffered to retire into Khorasân after his revolt in Kâbul.

I now sent letters to Shah Beg and Mokûm, informing them that I had advanced thus far in compliance with their wishes, that, as a foreign enemy like the Uzbeks had occupied Khorasân, it was necessary, in conjunction with them, to concert such measures as might seem most advisable and expedient for the general safety. Immediately upon this, they not only desisted from writing and sending to invite me, but even returned rude and uncivil answers. One instance of their rudeness was that in the letter which they wrote me, they impressed the seal on the back of the letter, in the place in which one Amîr writes to another, nay, where an Amîr of some rank sets his seal in writing to an inferior Amîr. Had they not been guilty of such insolence, and returned such insulting answers, things never would have come to such an issue, as it has been said—

‘An alteration has sometimes gone so far as to overthrow an ancient family

The result of their passionate and insolent conduct was, that their family, and the accumulated wealth and honours of thirty or forty years, were given to the wind

My adherents, who knew every part of the country, advised me to advance by the rivulets which flow towards Kandahâr. I adopted the plan, and next morning marched in battle order. Tûfân Arghûn advanced alone towards the Arghûn line. One Ashûk-ullah, with seven or eight men, separating from the enemy, rode hard towards him. Tufân advanced singly, faced them, exchanged some sword-blows, unhorsed Ashûk-ullah, cut off his head, and brought it to us. We hailed this exploit as a favourable omen.

We advanced without loss of time towards the enemy. When within bow-shot they suddenly charged, put my advance into confusion, and forced them to fall back on the main body, which, having ceased shooting, marched on to meet them, they on their part also gave over shooting, halted, and stood still awhile. A person who was over

against me, after calling out to his men, dismounted and deliberately aimed an arrow at me. I galloped up instantly to meet him, when I came near him, however, he did not venture to stand, but mounted his horse and returned back. This man who had so dismounted was Shah Beg himself. My people had seized the fords and obstructed the passage of the enemy, and, in spite of the fewness of their numbers, made a gallant fight, and stood firm against every attack. Kember Ali was wounded. Kâsim Beg was struck with an arrow in the forehead, Ghûrî Birlâs was wounded above the eyebrows by an arrow, which came out by the upper part of his cheek. At that crisis I put the enemy to flight, and passed the streams towards the projecting face of the hill of Murghân. No sooner was the enemy routed than all our troops set out to pursue them and make prisoners. There might perhaps, be eleven persons left with me. One of these was Abdullah (the Librarian). Mokîm was still standing his ground and fighting. Without regarding the smallness of my numbers, and relying on the providence of God, I beat the kettle-drum and marched towards the enemy.

‘God is the giver of little and of much,
In His court none other has power’

‘Often, at the command of God, the smaller army has routed
the greater’

On hearing the sound of my kettle-drum, and seeing my approach, their resolution failed, and they took to flight. God prospered us. Having put the enemy to flight, I advanced in the direction of Kandahâr, and took up my quarters at the Châr-bâgh. Shah Beg and Mokîm not being able to regain the fort of Kandahâr in their flight, went off, without leaving anybody in the castle able to hold it out. The brothers of Ali Terkhân, Kûli Beg, and a number of others, with whose attachment and regard to me I was well acquainted, were in the fort. A verbal communication taking place, they asked the life of their brothers, and out

of favourable consideration towards them I granted their request. They opened the gate of the fort I myself entered with a few of my personal attendants, and ordered one or two marauders whom I met to be put to death. I first went to Mokîm's treasury, it was in the walled town. Proceeding thence, I went to the citadel That night we staid in the citadel. Next morning I went to the Garden of Ferukhzâd, where the army lay. I gave the kingdom of Kandahâr to Nâsir Mirza. After the treasure was secured, when they had loaded it on the beasts of burden, and were carrying it from the treasury that was within the citadel, Nâsir Mirza took away a string of (seven) mules laden with silver, I did not ask them back again, but made him a present of them.

Marching thence, I sent forward the army, while I myself took a circuit, and arrived rather late at the camp. It was no longer the same camp, and I did not know it again. There were horses, strings of long-haired male and female camels, and mules laden with silk-cloth and fine linen; long-haired female camels bearing portmanteaus, tents, and awnings of purple velvet, in every house, chests, containing thousands of pounds of the property and effects of the two brothers, were carefully arranged and packed as in a treasury. In every storehouse were trunks upon trunks, and bales upon bales of cloth, and other effects, heaped on each other, cloak-bags on cloak-bags, and pots upon pots, filled with money. In every man's dwelling and tent there was a superfluity of spoil. There were likewise many sheep, but they were little valued. To Kâsim Beg I gave up the garrison that was in Khelât, together with all their property and effects. Kâsim Beg, who was a man of judgment and foresight, strongly urged me not to prolong my stay in the territory of Kandahâr, and it was his urgency that made me commence my march back. Kandahâr, as has been said, I bestowed on Nâsir Mirza; and, on his taking leave of me, I set out for Kâbul. While we stayed in the Kandahâr terri-

tory, we had not time to divide the treasure. On reaching Kara Bagh, we found leisure to make the division. It being difficult to count the money, we used scales to weigh and divide it. The Begs, officers, servants, and household, carried off on their animals whole sacks and bags of money, with which they loaded them as with forage, and we reached Kâbul with much wealth and plunder, and great reputation.

Six or seven days afterwards I learned that Sherbâk Khan had arrived, and was blockading Kandahâr. It was a foresight of the possibility of this very occurrence that had induced Kâsim Beg, who was a man of judgment, to urge with so much earnestness my departure from Kandahâr:

‘What the young man sees in a mirror,
The sage can discern in a baked brick.’

On his arrival he besieged Nâsir Mirza in Kandahâr.

In the month of the first Jemâdî, we marched from Kâbul against Hindustân. The Afghâns who inhabit between Kâbul and Laminghân are robbers and plunderers, even in peaceable times. They fervently pray to God for such times of confusion as now prevailed, but rarely do they get them. When they understood that I had abandoned Kâbul, and was marching for Hindustân, their former insolence was increased tenfold. Even the best among them were then bent on mischief, and things came to such lengths, that, on the morning when we marched from Jagdâlik, the Afghâns, through whose country we were to march, formed the plan of obstructing our march through the Kotal or hill-pass of Jagdâlik, and drew up on the hill which lies to the north, beating their drums, brandishing their swords, and raising terrific shouts. As soon as we had mounted, I ordered the troops to ascend the hill and attack the enemy, each in the direction nearest to him. Our troops accordingly advanced, and making their way through different valleys, and by every approach that they could

discover, got near them, upon which the Afghâns, after standing an instant, took to flight without even shooting an arrow. After driving off the Afghâns, we reached the top of the ascent. One Afghân, who was fleeing down the hill below me, on one side, I wounded in the arm with an arrow. He and a few others were taken and brought in. Some of them were impaled by way of example.

The troops seized a great quantity of rice. The rice-fields were at the bottom of the hills. The inhabitants in general fled and escaped, but a few Kâfirs were killed. They had posted some men in a breast-work on a commanding eminence. When the Kâfirs fled, this party descended rapidly from the hill, and began to annoy us with arrows. Having wounded Purân, the son-in-law of Kâsim Beg, they were on the point of coming up with him, and of making him prisoner, when the rest of his party made a push, put the enemy to flight, and extricated and rescued him. We stayed one night in the Kâfirs' rice-fields, where we took a great quantity of grain, and then returned back to the camp.

As we did not find it expedient to proceed in our expedition against Hindustân, I sent back Mûlla Bâba with a few troops towards Kâbul. A few days afterwards, though it was the middle of winter, I arrived in Kâbul.

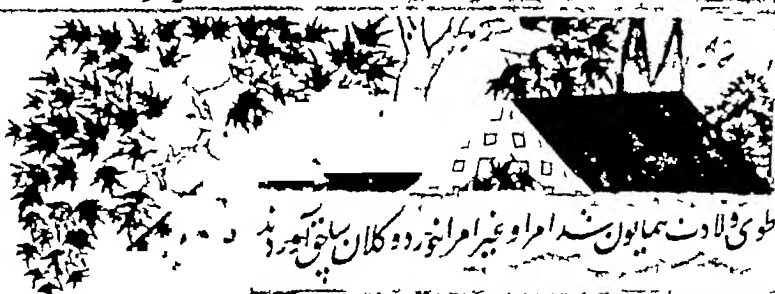
Till this time the family of Tamur, even although on the throne, had never assumed any other title than that of Mirza. At this period, I ordered that they should style me Emperor.

In the end of this year, on Tuesday the fourth day of the month of Zilkadeh, when the sun was in Aquarius, Hûmâiûn was born.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1508.

A FEW days after we had returned from the expedition, and resumed our quarters, Kûch Beg, Fakîr Alî, and Bâba Chehreh, formed a plan for deserting from me. On discover-

*' There was a feast on the birth of Hummaun, and the nobles and those who were
not nobles, small and great, brought offerings '*



ing their intentions, I dispatched a party, who seized them and brought them back. During the life-time of Jehangîr Mirza, too, they had frequently indulged in most improper conduct. I ordered that they should all be delivered over to punishment in the market-place. They had been carried to the Gate, and the ropes were putting round their necks for the purpose of hanging them, when Kâsim Beg sent to me, earnestly to entreat forgiveness for their offences. To gratify the Beg, I gave up the capital part of their punishment, and ordered them to be cast into prison.

I was sitting one night at the Châi-bâgh, in the presence-chamber, after bedtime prayers, when Mûsa Khwâjeh and another person came hurriedly close up to me and whispered me that the Moghuls had, beyond a doubt, formed treacherous designs. I could not be prevailed upon to believe that they had drawn Abd-ul Rizzâk into their projects; and still less could I credit that their treasonable intentions were to be executed that very night. I therefore did not give that attention to the information that I ought, and a moment after I set out for the Haram. When I came near the Haram, all my followers, of every rank and description, and even my night-guards, went away. After their departure, I went on to the city, attended only by my own people and the royal slaves. I had reached the Ditch at the Iron Gate, when Khwâjeh Muhammed Alî, who had just come that way from the market-place, met me, and

[The events of this year conclude abruptly in the same manner in all the copies.]

SUPPLEMENT.

*Containing an Abridged Account of Baber's Transactions,
from 1508-1519*

The Memoirs are again interrupted in 1508, and are continued in January, 1519. Baber appears to have taken

the field with a few faithful followers. An historian relates that the original number of rebels was 3000, and that this number rose to 12,000. In this reduced state of his fortunes Baber appears to have assumed the courage of despair. He exposed himself in every encounter, and attacked the insurgents wherever they could be found. On one occasion he advanced beyond the line and challenged Abd-ul Rizzak to single combat. The challenge was declined by that prince, but five champions having accepted it in his room, advanced in succession, and fell one after the other under the sword of Baber. Their names indicate that they were of different races.

His enemies, who admired and dreaded him, began to drop off, one defeat succeeded another, and Baber once more saw himself the undisputed sovereign of Kâbul and Ghazni.

In 1510 an event occurred which had a favourable influence on Baber's fortunes. Shah Ismâel at that time filled the Persian throne. An army having invaded a part of his territories, he sent ambassadors to Sheibânî Khan for assistance. Sheibânî Khan in reply sent only letters of advice, and at the same time sent the staff and wooden begging-dish of a mendicant. In reply, Shah Ismâel sent a spindle and reel with some cotton, giving the recipient to understand that he might sit quietly in a corner with an occupation that befitted him. Without losing a moment, or giving the enemy time to prepare for meeting him, Shah Ismâel put his army in motion. Sheibânî Khan advanced with 28,000 men, but had scarcely crossed a river ten miles from Merv, when Shah Ismâel threw a body of troops across the river, broke down the bridge, and fell upon him with 17,000 Persian cavalry. Sheibânî Khan was defeated and his retreat cut off. He was forced to flee, and took refuge in an enclosure by the river. but this being taken, he leaped his horse over the wall towards the river, but fell and was killed. The head, stuffed with hay, was sent to

the Sultan of Turkey in Constantinople, and the skull set in gold was long used at great entertainments

This defeat of Baber's most inveterate foe, from whom all his misfortunes had originated, and by whom he had been driven from the dominions of his forefathers, now opened the best hopes of recovering the kingdoms of his father and uncles. At this time Shah Ismâel sent back, with an honourable retinue, Baber's sister, Khanzâdeh Begum, who had been left behind in Samarkand when Baber was forced to abandon the town ten years before.

So rapidly did the position of Baber improve, that he soon found himself in possession of Hissâr, Bokhâra, and Samarkand. The power of the Uzbegs, however, increased, and in 1515 Baber, having again lost Samarkand, found himself back in Kâbul.

From this time, until his hopes were revived for a moment near the close of his life, he seems to have abandoned all hopes of recovering his ancient territories, and 'led by divine inspiration turned his mind to the conquest of Hindostan.'

The Memoirs which follow describe his first invasion of India.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1519.

ON the first day of the month of Moharrem, there was a violent earthquake in the lower part of the valley, which lasted nearly half an astronomical hour. Next morning I marched from this stage, for the purpose of attacking the fort of Bajour. Having encamped near it, I sent a trusty man to require the Sultan of Bajour and his people to submit, and deliver up the fort. That stupid and ill-fated set refused to do as they were advised, and sent back an absurd answer. I therefore ordered the army to prepare their besieging implements, scaling-ladders, and engines for attacking fortresses. For this purpose we halted one day in our camp.

As the people of Bajour had never seen any matchlocks, they at first were not in the least apprehensive of them, so that when they heard the report of the matchlocks, they stood opposite to them, mocking and making many unseemly and improper gestures. That same day Ali Kuli brought down five men with his matchlock, and Wali Khazin also killed two. The rest of the matchlock-men likewise showed great courage, and behaved finely. Quitting their shields, their mail, and their cowheads, they plied then shot so well that before evening seven, eight, or ten Bajours were brought down by them, after which the men of the fort were so alarmed that, for fear of the matchlocks, not one of them would venture to show his head. As it was now evening, orders were given that the troops should be drawn off for the present, but should prepare the proper implements and engines for assaulting the fortress in the morning twilight.

At the first dawn of light, orders were given to sound the kettle-drum for action. The troops all moved forward according to the stations assigned them, and invested the place. Dost Beg's men reached the foot of a tower on the north-east of the fort, and began undermining and destroying the walls. Ali Kuli was also there, and that day, too, he managed his matchlock to good purpose, the foreign piece was twice discharged. Wali Khazin also brought down a man with his matchlock. On the left of the centre, Kutub Ali having mounted the walls by a scaling-ladder, was for some time engaged hand to hand with the enemy. At the head of the main body, Muhammed Ali and his younger brother mounted by a scaling-ladder, and fought bravely with spear and sword. Bâba Yesâwel, mounting by another scaling-ladder, busied himself in demolishing, with an axe, the parapet of the fort. Many of our people bravely climbed up, kept plying the enemy with their arrows, and would not suffer them to raise their heads above the works, some others of our people, in spite of all

the exertions and annoyance of the enemy, and not minding their bows and arrows, employed themselves in breaking through the walls, and demolishing the defences. It was luncheon-time when the tower to the north-east, which Dost Beg's men were undermining, was breached, immediately on which the assailants drove the enemy before them, and entered the tower. The men of the main body at the same time also mounted by their scaling-ladders, and entered the fort. By the favour and kindness of God, in the course of two or three hours we took this strong castle. All ranks displayed the greatest courage and energy, and justified their right to the character and fame of valour. As the men of Bajour were rebels—rebels to the followers of Islâm—and as, beside their rebellion and hostility, they followed the customs and usages of the infidels, while even the name of Islâm was extirpated from among them, they were all put to the sword, and their wives and families made prisoners. Perhaps upwards of three thousand men were killed.

The expedition against Bajour being thus terminated to my entire satisfaction, I gave orders for the erection of a pillar of skulls on a rising ground.

On Wednesday, the 10th of Moharrem, I mounted and rode to the castle of Bajour, where we had a drinking party. The Kâfirs in the neighbourhood of Bajour had brought down wine in a number of skins. I stayed there all night, and next morning surveyed the towers and rampart of the fort, after which I mounted and rode back to the camp.

I hunted one day on a hill that lies above Bajour. The bison of this hill are black, except the tail, which is of a different colour. Below this, the bullocks and deer of Hindustân are wholly dark-coloured. The same day we caught a sarik bird, its body was black, as were its eyes. This day, too, my hawk Burkut took a deer. As there was a scarcity of grain in the army, we went to the valley of Kehraj, where we seized a quantity of corn, and then pro-

ceeded towards Siwâd, on an expedition against the Yusefzai Afghâns.

Next day, we marched and encamped at the junction of the Chandûl and Bajour rivers. Yusefzai had brought some very pleasant but highly inebriating Kimâl. I cut a Kimâl into three parts, and ate one part myself, giving another to Taghai, and the third to Abdulla. It affected me strangely, and with such a degree of intoxication, that, when the Begs met in council about evening prayers, I was unable to make my appearance, which is the more surprising, as now I may eat a whole Kimâl of that kind, without being in the slightest degree affected, though, on that occasion, less than the half of one produced inebriety.

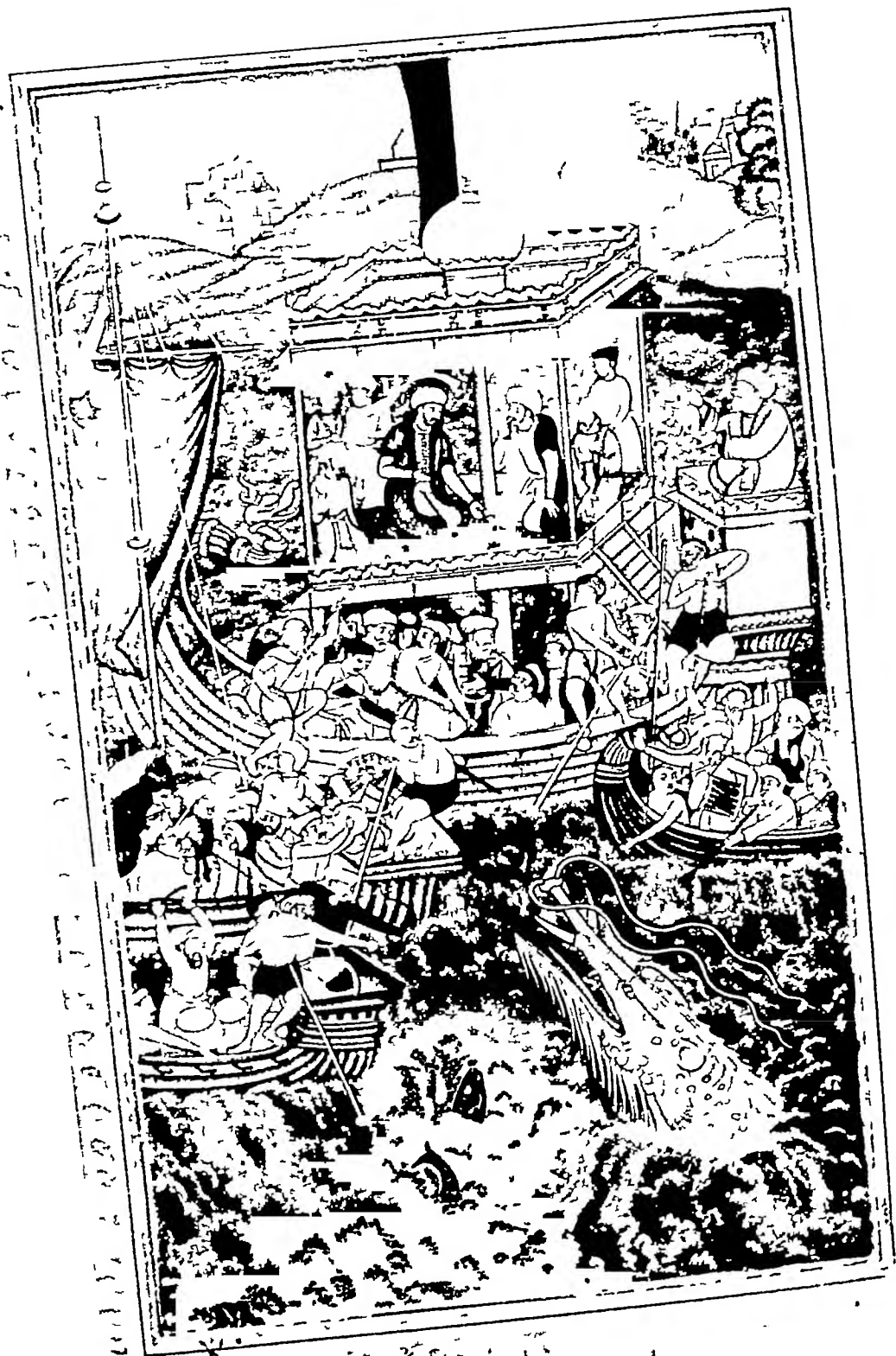
In the course of the last thirty or forty years, one Shahbâz Kalendar, an impious unbeliever, had perverted the faith of numbers of the Yusefzais and Dilazâks. At the abrupt termination of the hill of Makâm, there is a small hillock that overlooks all the plain country. It is extremely beautiful, commanding a prospect as far as the eye can reach, and is conspicuous from the lower grounds. Upon it stood the tomb of Shahbâz Kalendar. I visited it, and surveyed the whole place. It struck me as improper that so charming and delightful a spot should be occupied by the tomb of an unbeliever. I therefore gave orders that the tomb should be pulled down, and levelled with the ground. As the situation was fine, both for climate and beauty, I took an intoxicating drink, and continued there for some time.

Early next morning we marched towards the passage over the Indus. I despatched some troops for the purpose of examining the banks of the river, both above and below. After sending on the army towards the river, I myself set off to hunt the rhinoceros. We started many rhinoceroses, but, as the country abounded in brushwood, we could not get at them. A she rhinoceros that had whelps, came out and fled along the plain, many arrows were shot at her, but as the wooded ground was near at hand she gained cover. We set

which I now was had long been in the possession of the Tûrks, I regarded them as my own domains, and was resolved to acquire the possession of them either by war or peace. It was, therefore, right and necessary that the people of the hill should be well treated. I accordingly issued orders that no one should molest or trouble their flocks or herds, or take from them to the value of a bit of thread or a broken needle.

I sent for the head men of Behreh, and agreed with them for the sum of 20,000*l.* as the ransom of their property, and collectors were appointed to receive the amount. I then rode out to see the country, embarked in a boat, and ate bhang. I had sent Haider Alemdâr (the standard-bearer), to the Baluches, who were settled in the country of Behreh, and presently they came in with a bay horse and made their submission. Having learned that the troops had exercised some severities towards the inhabitants of Behreh, and were using them ill, I sent out a party, who having seized a few of the soldiers that had been guilty of excesses, I put some of them to death, and slit the noses of some others, and made them be led about the camp in that condition.

People were always saying, that if ambassadors were to be sent in a friendly and peaceable way into the countries that had been occupied by the Tûrks, it could do no harm. I therefore despatched Mûlla Murshid to Sultan Ibrâhim, and, giving him the name and style of ambassador, sent him to demand, that the countries which from old times had belonged to the Tûrks, should be given up to me. Besides these letters for Sultan Ibrâhim, I gave Mûlla Murshid letters to Doulet Khan, and having also delivered to him verbal instructions, dismissed him on his mission. The people of Hindustân, and particularly the Afghâns, are a strangely foolish and senseless race, possessed of little reflection, and less foresight. They can neither persist in, and manfully support a war, nor can they continue in a state of amity and friendship. Doulet Khan detained my ambas-



'I went on board a boat and had a drinking party The boat had a level platform above, and I and some others sat there'

sador some time in Lahore, neither seeing him himself, nor suffering him to proceed to Sultan Ibrâhim, so that my envoy, five months after, returned to Kâbul without having received any answer.

At this time there was such a fall of rain, that the whole plain was covered with water. Between Behreh and the hills where we were encamped, there was a little stream. By the time of noonday prayers, it was equal in breadth to a considerable lake. Between afternoon and evening prayers, I rode out for the purpose of surveying these waters. The rain and wind were so violent, that, in our return, we were afraid we should not have been able to rejoin the camp. I passed the stream that was in flood by swimming, the troops were extremely terrified.

Next morning, after the Diwân was dismissed, when I had finished my ride, I went on board a boat, and had a drinking party. Towards the bow of the vessel a space was roofed in. It had a level platform above, and I and some others sat on the top of it. A few others sat below the scaffolding. Towards the stern of the ship, too, there was a place for sitting. Gedai and Naaman sat there. We continued drinking spirits till after noon-prayers. Disliking the spirits we then took to bhang. Those who were at the other end of the vessel, did not know that we were taking bhang, and continued to drink spirits. About night-prayers we left the vessel, and mounting our horses, returned late to the camp. Naaman and Gedai, thinking that I had been taking nothing but spirits, and imagining that they were doing an acceptable service, brought me a pitcher of liquor, carrying it by turns on their horses. They were extremely drunk and jovial when they brought it in. 'Here it is,' they said; 'dark as the night is, we have brought a pitcher.' We carried it by turns. They were informed that we had been using a different thing. The bhang-takers and spirit-drinkers, as they have different tastes, are very apt to take offence with each other. I said, 'Don't spoil the cordiality of the party;

whoever wishes to drink spirits, let him drink spirits; and let him that prefers bhang, take bhang, and let not the one party give any idle or provoking language to the other.' Some sat down to spirits, some to bhang. The party went on for some time tolerably well. Bâba Jân had not been in the boat, we had sent for him when we reached the royal tents. He chose to drink spirits. Terdi Kipchâk, too, was sent for and joined the spirit-drinkers. As the spirit-drinkers and bhang-takers never can agree in one party, the spirit-bibing party began to indulge in foolish and idle conversation, and to make provoking remarks on bhang and bhang-takers. Bâba Jân, too, getting drunk, talked very absurdly. The tipplers filling up glass after glass for Terdi Muhammed, made him drink them off, so that in a very short time he was mad drunk. Whatever exertions I could make to preserve peace, were all unavailing, there was much uproar and wrangling. The party became quite burdensome and unpleasant, and soon broke up.

Next day I mounted to take a ride, and afterwards going on board a boat, we had a drinking bout. We continued drinking spirits in the boat till bedtime prayers, when, being completely drunk, we mounted, and taking torches in our hands, came at full gallop back to the camp from the river-side, falling sometimes on one side of the horse, and sometimes on the other. I was miserably drunk, and next morning, when they told me of our having galloped into the camp with lighted torches in our hands, I had not the slightest recollection of the circumstance. After coming home I vomited plentifully.

Soon afterwards I mounted to ride out, and crossed the river in a boat, went round the gardens and parterres on the opposite side, with the grounds where the sugar-cane is cultivated, examined the buckets and wheels for irrigation, drew some water, inquired into the mode of their operation, and made them raise the water again and again, that I might observe their action. During our ride I had taken bhang,

and when we had seen everything we returned to the boat. Manucheher Khan had also taken bhang, but so strong, that two people were obliged to take hold of his arms and support him along. We dropped the anchor, and for a while remained stationary in the midst of the river, we next went a good way down the river, and afterwards desired the boat to be worked up the stream. That night we slept in the boat, and towards morning returned to the camp

On Saturday, the 10th of the first Rebi, the sun entered the Ram, that day I rode out about noonday prayers, went on board of a vessel, and had a drinking party. Having got into a large branch of the stream, we went down it for some time, after which we landed considerably lower down than Behreh, and reached the camp late

Having arranged the affairs of the country in such a way as to give a prospect of its being kept quiet, I marched from Behreh on my return to Kâbul. That day also there was a most uncommon fall of rain. Those who had cloaks, and those who had none, were all in the same state. The rear of the camp continued dropping in till after bedtime prayers

The army of the Afghâns having also arrived, we next morning marched thence, and halted after advancing four miles. I here ascended a rising ground to survey the camp, and directed the camels of the army to be numbered. They amounted to five hundred and seventy camels. I had formerly heard the spikenard plant described: I now saw it at this station. On the skirts of this hill there are a few spikenard plants scattered here and there. They are more abundant in the skirts of the hills of Hindustân, where the plant is both more plentiful and larger in size. When I describe the animals and forests of Hindustân it will be more particularly mentioned.

Marching hence at the time when the kettle-drum beats, we halted about luncheon time at the foot of the pass of

Attock. About noonday prayers we renewed our march and ascended the pass, crossed the river, and halted on an eminence; we again set out at midnight. In going to examine the ford by which we had passed in our way to Behreh, we found a raft, loaded with grain, that had stuck fast in the mud and clay, the owners, with all their exertions, had not been able to extricate it. We seized this corn, and divided it among the men who were with us; the grain came very seasonably. Towards evening we halted lower down than the junction of the Indus and Kâbul rivers. We brought six boats, and divided them among the right and left wings and centre, who immediately began to exert themselves in crossing the river, which occupied four days

At sunrise we moved from the banks of the river and resumed our march. This day I ate bhang. While under its influence I visited some beautiful gardens. In different beds the ground was covered with purple and yellow arghwân flowers. On one hand were beds of yellow flowers in bloom, on the other hand, red flowers were in blossom. In many places they sprung up in the same bed, mingled together as if they had been flung and scattered abroad. I took my seat on a rising ground near the camp, to enjoy the view of all the flowers. On the six sides of this eminence they were formed as into regular beds. On one side were yellow flowers; on another the purple, laid out in triangular beds. On two other sides there were fewer flowers, but, as far as the eye could reach, there were flower-gardens of a similar kind. In the neighbourhood of Peshâwer, during the spring, the flower-beds are exquisitely beautiful.

Early in the morning we marched from our ground. Where the road separates from the river we heard a tiger roaring, and it soon came out. The moment the horses heard the tiger's cry they became unmanageable, and ran off with their riders, plunging down the steep and precipices. The tiger retreated again into the jungle. I directed a

Crossing the Indus



buffalo to be brought and put in the wood, for the purpose of luring him out. He soon issued out again growling. Arrows poured down on him from every side, I, too, shot my arrow. When Khalwa struck him with a spear he twisted, and broke the point of the spear with his teeth and tossed it away. The tiger had received many wounds, and had crept into a patch of brushwood, when Yesâwal, drawing his sword, approached and struck him on the head, at the moment he was on the spring. After this, Ali Sistâni struck him on the loins, when he plunged into the river, where they killed him. After they had dragged the animal out of the water I ordered him to be skinned.

Next morning we continued our march, and halted at Bekrâm. We visited the Gûrh-katrî. There are nowhere else in the whole world such narrow and dark hermits' cells as at this place. After entering the doorway and descending one or two stairs, you must lie down, and proceed crawling along, stretched at full length. You cannot enter without a light. The quantities of hair, as a votive offering, both of the head and beard, that are lying scattered round about and in the vicinity of this cave are immense. On all sides there are numerous cells, like those of a college or monastery. The number of apartments is very great.

This same day I lost my best hawk. Sheikhem, the chief huntsman, had the charge of it. It took herons and storks excellently. It had flown away twice or thrice before. It pounced so unfailingly on its quarry as to make even one with so little skill as myself the most successful of fowlers.

On each of the six chief Afghâns who accompanied Terkhân I bestowed a hundred mishkals of silver, one vest, three bullocks, and one buffalo out of the spoil of Hindustân. On the others, also, I bestowed money, cloth, bullocks, and buffaloes, according to the circumstances of each.

When we had reached our ground at Ali Musjid, one Maarûf brought ten sheep, two loads of rice, and eight large cheeses, as tribute.

I reached Kâbul at noonday prayers, no one knew of my approach till I reached the bridge. After that, there was no time to put Hûmâûn and Kâmrân on horseback. They brought them forth in the arms of the nearest servants, between the gate of the fort and that of the citadel, to offer me their duty. About afternoon prayers, Kâsim Beg, with the Kâzi, of the city, and such of my court as had remained in Kâbul, waited on me

I had a jovial party about afternoon prayers. I bestowed a diess of honour from my own wardrobe on Shah Hassan

At daybreak next morning I went on board a boat, and had a morning party. At this entertainment Nûr Beg played on the lute, he had not then adopted a rigid severity of life. At noonday prayers we left the vessel, and amused ourselves in a garden which I had laid out on the hill. About afternoon prayers we went to the Violet Garden and sat down to our wine. I returned over the ramparts into the citadel

The eldest daughter of Sultan Mirza arrived in Kâbul. After she had taken up her abode there I went and waited on her. As I visited her with the same ceremony as if she was my elder sister, I bowed down as a mark of politeness and respect, they also bowed down. I then went up to them and we embraced each other, and we always afterwards observed the same usage

That day I was fasting. Yûnis Alî and some others said with surprise, 'What! Tuesday, and you fasting! This is a miracle.' We halted at the Kâzi's house. That night we had made every preparation for a jolly party, when the Kâzi came to me and said, 'Such a thing was never yet seen in my house, however, you are Emperor and the Master.' Although the whole apparatus for our merry-making was ready, yet, to please the Kâzi, we gave up our intention of drinking wine.

I planted shoots of the plane, and of the sycamore, within the garden inclosure. At noonday prayers we had

a drinking party. At daybreak next morning we had an early drinking party within the new inclosed ground. After mid-day we mounted and returned towards Kâbul. Reaching Hassan, completely drunk, we slept there. Abdullah, being intoxicated, had leaped into the water, arrayed as he was in his robe and dress of honour. As it was late, he was affected with the cold, was unable to move, and stayed all night at Kutluk's estate. Next morning he came to me ashamed and penitent for his excesses, having formed a resolution to abstain from wine. I said to him, 'Now, speak out. Is your repentance to be effectual and profitable for the future or not?' You are not to abstain from wine in my presence, and go on drinking everywhere else.' He adhered to his resolution for some months, but could not observe it longer.

I felt some symptoms of an intermittent fever, and got myself let blood. At that time there was an interval sometimes of two days, sometimes of three days, between the return of its attacks. At each attack the fever continued till a perspiration arose, when I was relieved. After ten or twelve days, Mûlla Khwajka prescribed wine mixed with narcissus flowers. I took it once or twice, but it did me no good.

Hassan Beg sent to ask my permission to have a drinking party. He carried Muhammed Ali, and other Beks of my court, to his house. I still abstained from the use of wine on account of the fever. I said, 'I never in my life sat sober while my friends were getting merry, nor remained cool and observant while they were quaffing wine and getting jovial. Come, therefore, and drink near me, that I may observe for a while the different progress and effects of society on the sober and the drunk.' On the south-east of the Picture-gallery was a small set of tents, in which I sometimes sat. The party was held there. Ghiâs, the buffoon, made his appearance, they several times in sport turned him out of the party; but at last, after much wrangling in jest, he forced his way into the meeting.

I composed extempore, and sent to the party, the following verses :—

‘ My friends enjoy the rose-garden of beauty in this banquet,
While I am deprived of the delights of their society.
Yet since the charms of social bliss are theirs,
I breathe a hundred prayers that no evil may betide them ’

Between noonday and afternoon prayers the party got drunk, and began to be guilty of follies. While they were in this state of intoxication I had myself carried out. For several days before this I had drunk the wine mixture, but afterwards, in consequence of its doing me no service, I had given up using it. Towards the close of my illness I made a party under an apple-tree, when we drank the medicated wine

Tengri Berdi, with some Begs and young officers, gave a party in Haider Taki's garden. I, too, went to the party, and drank wine. After bedtime prayers we rose, left the place, and sat down to drink together in the Grand Public Tents

On Thursday, the 25th of the month, Mûllah Mahmûd was appointed to read the sacred extracts from the Koran for my recovery.

I went to Shah Hassan's house, where we had a drinking party. Many of my nobles and courtiers were present.

One day there was a party between afternoon and evening prayers. We went out to the terrace of the Pigeon-house and sat down to our wine. When it was rather late some horsemen were observed coming along the road towards the city. I ascertained that they were Derwîsh Muhammed and his people, who were coming on an embassy from Mirza Khan, we sent for him up to the terrace. ‘Put aside the form and state of an ambassador,’ said I, ‘and sit down and join us without ceremony.’ Derwîsh Muhammed accordingly came, and, having placed before me a few articles of the presents which he had brought, sat down beside us. At that

time he was strict in his deportment, and did not drink wine. We, however, got extremely drunk. Next morning, when I was sitting in the hall of audience, he came with all due state and ceremony, and having been introduced, presented the tributary offerings which Mirza Khan had sent.

The Abdal-Rahman Afghâns had settled themselves within the limits of Gerdez, and did not pay their taxes nor demean themselves peaceably. They molested the caravans both in coming and going. In order to chastise these Afghâns, and beat up their quarters, I set out on an expedition against them. That night we lost our road, and wandered a great deal among hillocks and waste grounds. After a time we again found the road, passed the hill-defile of Pûreh, and about the time of morning prayers reached the plain, and sent out our plundering parties to scour the country. One detachment went out to plunder the country, and beat up the enemy's quarters on the side of the hill of Kirmâs. A considerable party of troops proceeded on a plundering excursion up the dale.

As this party was the most considerable, after seeing them pass, I followed them. The inhabitants were a great way up, so that the troops which went to find them out tired their horses and did not get the slightest thing worth mentioning. Forty or fifty Afghâns came in sight on the plain. The party that had been sent to follow and support the troops rode up towards them and sent a horseman to hasten my advance. I immediately rode briskly forward, but before I could come up, Hussain Hassan, without motive or reason, had spurred on his horse into the midst of the Afghâns, and while he was laying about him with his sword, his horse, being wounded with an arrow, threw him. He had no sooner risen than they wounded him in the leg with a sword, threw him down again, dispatched him with their hangers and swords and cut him in pieces. The Amîrs stopped short and stood looking on, but gave no assistance. On getting

information of this, I ordered my immediate followers and some chosen troops to gallop on at full speed, I myself followed them at a quick pace. First of all, Momin Atkeh, on getting into action, struck down an Afghân with a spear and cut off his head, which he brought away. Abdal Hassan had not arrayed himself in his mail, but he advanced bravely, posted himself in the road by which the Afghâns were marching, charged among them full speed on horseback, brought down an Afghân with his sabre and cut off his head, which he brought in as a trophy, he himself received three wounds and his horse was also wounded in one place. Muhammed Kiplân also advanced very gallantly, attacked and wounded an Afghân sword in hand, made him prisoner and brought in his head. Though the courage of Abul Hassan and Muhammed Kiplân had been distinguished on former occasions, yet in this affair they gave still more conspicuous proofs of their gallantry. These forty or fifty Afghâns were all shot or cut down to a man. After slaying the Afghâns we halted in a cultivated field, and I directed a tower of skulls to be made of their heads. By the time I reached the road the Begs who had been with Hussain came up, being very angry and resolved to make an example of them, I said: 'As you, though so many in number, have stood by and seen a young man of such distinction and merit killed by a few Afghâns on foot and on plain ground, I deprive you of your rank and station, take from you your commands and governments, direct your beards to be shaven and that you be led ignominiously round the streets of the town that no man may henceforward give up a youth of such worth to so contemptible an enemy. On level ground you stood looking on and never lifted an arm: be this your punishment.' That detachment of the army which had gone towards Kirmas brought in some sheep and plunder. Bâba Kishkeh, who was a very resolute man, while an

Afghân was in the act of lifting his sword and rushing on to come to close quarters with him. stood his ground without flinching, applied his arrow to the string with the greatest coolness, hit the Afghân and brought him down.

Next morning we set out on our return towards Kâbul, I halted at the village of Aka, and indulging myself with bhang, made them throw into the water the liquor used for intoxicating fishes and caught a few fish.

On arrival in Kâbul I inquired into the conduct of Muhammed Fazlî and the servants of Khosrou regarding the surrender of Nilâb, and it appearing clearly in the course of the examinations that they had behaved ill, I degraded them from their rank and employments. About noonday prayers there was a drinking party under a plane-tree, I bestowed a dress of honour on Kishkeh Moghul.

One day we had a drinking party at Istâlîf. When we had nearly reached our destination they killed a large serpent which was as thick as the arm and as long as a man, out of this large serpent crept a thinner one which had apparently been caught and swallowed immediately before; all its parts were quite uninjured and sound—the thin serpent might be somewhat shorter than the thick one. Out of the thin serpent came a large rat which likewise was perfectly sound, no limb of it was injured.

I wrote letters which I sent by the hand of Kichkeneh Tunketâr to the Amîrs beyond the hills, desiring them to assemble the force of the country, mentioning that the army was in the field and about to make an inroad, that they must therefore array themselves and join the camp.

Next morning I mounted and took bhang, we threw into the river Perwân, where it meets the road, some of the drug, which is used by the inhabitants of the country to intoxicate the fish, and took a very great

quantity of them. Mîr Shah Beg presented me with a horse and gave us a dinner After bedtime prayers we had a drinking party, Derwîsh Muhammed was present at these parties Though young and a soldier, yet he never indulged in wine, he always rigidly abstained from it Kutluk Khwâjeh had for a long time renounced the profession of arms and become a Derwîsh, he was very aged and his beard had become white, but he always joined us at our wine in these jovial drinking parties. 'Does not the hoary beard of Kutluk Khwâjeh make you ashamed?' said I to Muhammed Derwîsh 'Old man as he is, and white as is his beard, he always drinks wine. You a soldier, young, with a black beard, and never drink! What sense is there in this?' It never was my custom, as I did not think it polite, to press any one to drink who did not wish, so that this passed as a mere pleasantry and he was not induced to take wine.

Next morning we had a stirrup-cup, and came to the village of Alûn, where we dined and then went on to Bâghât Khan, where we halted. After noonday prayers we had a drinking party.

Next morning we set out again on our progress, and after having visited and circumambulated the tomb of Khan Saïd, embarked in a raft at Chineh At the conflux of the river Penjhir, where the hill juts out, the raft struck on a rock and began to sink, when the raft struck, the shock was so violent that several people were tossed into the river and were dragged again into the raft with much difficulty. A china cup with a spoon and cymbal fell overboard Putting off from thence as we reached a place opposite (the cut rock), the raft again struck on something in the midst of the stream, I know not whether the branch of a tree or a stake which been driven in for making a stop-water. Shah Hassan went over on his back, while falling he laid hold of Mîrza Kûli and drew him in along with him Derwîsh Muhammed likewise tumbled into the water.

Mirza Kûli fell in an odd way. He had in his hand a knife for cutting melons, which, while in the act of falling, he struck into the mat that was spread over the raft, and fell overboard. Not being able to regain the raft, he kept swimming in his gown and dress of honour, till he reached the shore. On disembarking from the raft, we passed that night in the raftsmen's houses. Derwîsh Muhammed made me a present of a cup of seven colours, like that which had fallen overboard.

On Monday the 25th, I bestowed a dress of honour of the highest degree and a saddled horse on Derwîsh Muhammed, and he was presented on being raised to the rank of Beg. For four or five months I had never cut the hair of my head. On Wednesday the 27th I had it cut. This day we had a drinking party.

I now set out on an expedition for the purpose of repelling and chastising the Yûsefzais. As I was mounting my horse, Bâba Jan, my waiting-man, having presented it in an awkward manner, I was angry and struck him a blow on the face with my fist, by which I dislocated my thumb, I did not feel it much at the time, but when I had dismounted at the end of our march it had become extremely painful. For a long while I suffered excessively from it and I was unable to write a single letter. It got well, however, at last.

We halted at Kîruk. I went on board a raft with a few of my intimate friends. We passed the feast of the new moon in this station. Some people had brought several animals loaded with wine from the valley of Nûr. After evening prayers, there was a drinking party. Derwîsh Muhammed always abstained from wine. From my childhood down, it has been my rule that no one should be pressed to drink against his will. Derwîsh Muhammed was always of our parties, and never was urged to drink at all. Muhammed Alî would not suffer him to take his own way, but, by pressing and urging, made him drink some wine.

MEMOIRS OF BABER

Early on Monday, being the day of the Id, we renewed our march, on the way I took bhang to remove the crop sickness. At the time of my taking the bhang they brought a Coloquint apple Durwîsh Muhammed had never seen one. I told him it was a Hindustâni melon, and cutting it up, gave him a slice, which he put hastily into his mouth, and chewed eagerly. The bitter taste did not leave his mouth that whole day. Some meat had been already dressed and presented, when Lenger Khan, who had been for some time at his place, arrived with an offering of some bhang as tribute, and made a tender of his services. At afternoon prayers, I went aboard of a raft with several of my intimates, and sailed down the stream.

Next morning we marched and halted at the bottom of the Kheiber Pass. The same day Sultan Bayezîd arrived and gave me information, that the Afrîdî Afghâns, with their families and property, were settled in Bareh, where they had sown a great quantity of rice, which had not yet been carried off the ground. As I had fixed on plundering the country of the Yusefzai Afghâns, I did not care to meddle with these others. At noonday prayers, we had a drinking party. During this party I sent to Khwâjeh Kilân a detailed account of our march into these countries. On the margin of the letter I wrote the following couplet.—

‘O, Zephyr! kindly say to that beautiful fawn—
Thou has condemned me to wander in the hills and deserts’

Marching thence at dawn, we passed the defiles of Kheiber, and halted at Ali Musjid. Marching again about noonday prayers, and leaving the baggage to follow, we reached the banks of the river of Kâbul when the second watch was over, and had a short sleep. At break of day we discovered a ford, and crossed the river. We got notice from our advanced party, that the Afghâns had received information of our approach, and fled. Proceeding in our course we crossed the river of Sewâd, and halted amidst the

میان عرب و جنوب باخ حوض ده درونی است اطراف آن
 درختهای نازک است درختهای انار هم است که اگر در حوض
 سه روز بارانست جای عین باغ عینیت در وقت زردیدن
 بارها بسیار خوب می نماید چلی باغ حوضی طرح شده و طر



*‘ The garden was in all its glory Its grass-plots were all covered with clover ,
its pomegranate trees were entirely of a beautiful yellow colour The orange
trees were loaded with oranges I never was so much pleased with the
garden of Fidelity ’*

cornfields of the Afghâns. We did not find one-half of the grain that we had been led to expect, indeed, not one-fourth. I consequently gave up my intention of fortifying Hashnagar as a dépôt. The chiefs who had urged us to make this inroad were rather mortified. About afternoon prayers we crossed to the Kâbul side of the river, and halted.

Next morning we crossed the Kâbul river and halted. Having summoned the Begs who were admitted to council, we held a consultation, in which it was resolved to plunder the country of the Afrîdî Afghâns, to fit up the fort of Peshâwer for the reception of their effects and corn, and to leave a garrison in it.

Having settled these affairs, we marched, and reached the garden of fidelity; it was the season when the garden was in all its glory. Its grass-plots were all covered with clover; its pomegranate trees were entirely of a beautiful yellow colour. It was then the pomegranate season, and the pomegranates were hanging red on the trees. The orange trees were green and cheerful, loaded with innumerable oranges, but the best oranges were not yet ripe. Its pomegranates are excellent, though not equal to the fine ones of our country. I never was so much pleased with the garden of fidelity, as on this occasion. During the three or four days that we stayed at the garden, all the people in the camp had pomegranates in abundance.

We marched from the garden, I stayed till the first watch, and bestowed the oranges on different persons. I gave Shah Hassan the oranges of two trees, to several Begs I gave one tree, and to several two orange trees. As I had an intention of travelling through the Lemghân in the winter, I desired them to save about twenty trees, around the piece of water, for my use. This day we reached Gendemek.

Next morning we halted at Jagdâlik. Towards evening prayers we had a drinking party; many of my courtiers were present. About the end of the party Gedai Muhammed, became very noisy and troublesome: and, when he got

drunk, placed himself on the pillow on which I reclined, whereupon Gedai Taghai turned him out of the party

Marching thence, before break of day, I went to visit the country up the Barik. Many Turâk trees were in excellent bearing. We halted at that place, and, having dined on a dish called Yulkerân, we drank wine in honour of the rich crop. We made them kill a sheep which was picked up on the road, caused some meat to be dressed, kindled a fire of oak branches, and entertained ourselves

We continued at this place drinking till the sun was on the decline, when we set out. Those who had been of the party were completely drunk. Syed Kâsim was so drunk that two of his servants were obliged to put him on horseback, and brought him to the camp with great difficulty. Dost Muhammed was so far gone, that Amîn, and those who were along with him, were unable, with all their exertions, to get him on horseback. They poured a great quantity of water over him, but all to no purpose. At this moment a body of Afghâns appeared in sight. Amîn, being very drunk, gravely gave it as his opinion, that rather than leave him in the condition in which he was, to fall into the hands of the enemy, it was better at once to cut off his head, and carry it away. Making another exertion, however, with much difficulty, they contrived to throw him upon a horse, which they led along, and so brought him off.

We reached Kâbul at midnight. I went alone and had an early cup close by Kâbil Beg's tomb, the party afterwards dropped in, by one or two at a time. When the sun waxed hot, we retired to the Violet Garden and sat down to our wine by the side of the piece of water. At mid-day we took a nap, and, about noonday prayers, again returned to our wine. At this afternoon party, I gave wine to Tengri Kûli Beg and Mendib, which I had never before done. At bedtime prayers I reached the baths, and stayed there that night.

On Sunday, I had a party in the small Picture-cabinet

that is over the gate Although the apartment is very small, our party consisted of sixteen I went to see the harvest. This day I took bhang During the night there was a great deal of rain. Most of the Beks and courtiers who had attended me were obliged to take refuge in my tent, which was pitched in the middle of a garden

Next morning we had a drinking party in the same tent. We continued drinking till night. On the following morning we again had an early cup, and, getting intoxicated, went to sleep About noonday prayers, we left Istálif, and I took bhang on the road. It was about afternoon prayers before I reached Behzádi. The crops were extremely good. While I was riding round the harvest-fields, such of my companions as were fond of wine began to contrive another drinking-bout Although I had taken bhang yet I did

runs We then passed behind the bear-house, and came late, about the time of the first sleep, to Terdi Beg's subterraneous conduit Terdi Beg, on hearing of our arrival, ran out in a great hurry to wait on me. I well knew Terdi Beg's thoughtless profuse turn, and that he did not dislike his glass. I had taken with me money, which I now gave him, telling him to get ready wine and everything else for an entertainment, as I wished to make merry with some jolly companions Terdi Beg set out to bring wine I sent my horse with one of Terdi Beg's slaves to graze in a valley, while I myself sat down behind the water-course, on a rising ground It was past the first watch (nine o'clock), when Terdi Beg came back with a pitcher of wine, and we set about drinking it. While Terdi Beg was bringing the wine, Muhammed Kâsım and Shahzâdeh, who had guessed at the object of his errand, but had no suspicion that I was concerned, had dogged Terdi Beg on foot We invited them to be of the party Terdi Beg said, that Hûl-hûl wished to drink wine with us I said, 'I have never seen a woman drink wine : Call her to be of the party.' He likewise sent for a religious mendicant, called Shâhî, and a man connected with the conduit, who played on the ribeck We sat drinking wine on the eminence behind the water-run till evening prayers, after which we went to Terdi Beg's house, and drank by candle-light till after bedtime prayers It was a wonderfully amusing and guileless party. I lay down, and the party went to another house, where they drank till the kettle-drum beat. Hûl-hûl came and was very riotous with me, at last, however, I threw myself down, as if completely drunk, and so escaped I intended to mount my horse alone, and set off without letting them know They discovered my design, however, so that it did not succeed. At length, when the kettle-drum beat, I mounted Having desired Terdi Beg and Shahzâdeh to accompany me, we all three rode on. About early morning prayers we reached Istâlîf. We halted for a little, and I took a bhang, and



*' We hunted the hill below Kulbeh This day I shot an arrow right on the
shoulder-blade of a stag The arrow entered half up to the feather '*

made a circuit of the crops. Towards sunrise we halted at the garden of Istâlîf, and eat grapes, and finally halted and slept at the house of Ata Mîr. While we were asleep, he prepared an entertainment, and got ready a pitcher of wine. It was of excellent vintage. We drank several cups and mounted. At noonday prayers, we alighted in a beautiful garden, and had a merry party. In a little time Muhammed Amîn joined us. We continued drinking till night prayers.

Next morning, we breakfasted, and rode round the Royal garden, which is below Isterghach. One apple-tree had been in excellent bearing. On some branches five or six scattered leaves still remained, and exhibited a beauty which the painter, with all his skill, might attempt in vain to pourtray.

I had a party in the citadel. In this party the rule was that every person who got drunk should leave the place, and another person be invited to supply his room.

THE OCCURRENCES OF 1599

We hunted the hill which lies below Kulbeh, and killed many deer. From the time my finger was hurt I had never drawn an arrow. This day I shot an arrow right on the shoulder-bone of a stag. The arrow entered half up to the feather. At afternoon prayers I embarked on a raft, and had a drinking party. After evening prayers I landed from the raft, and again sat down to wine in the public tents. Next morning I went on board a raft, and ate bhang.

Marching again on Friday we saw a great number of partridges. At night we had a drinking party. I embarked in a raft, and alighted at the orange garden. Its oranges were well advanced in yellow hue, and the verdure of the green plants was beautiful. We stayed five or six days in the orange garden. As I intended, when forty years old, to abstain from wine, and as now I wanted somewhat less

than one year of being forty, I drank wine most copiously. Mûlla Yârek played an air which he had composed in the Penjgâh to the Mekhemmis measure. The air was beautiful. For some time I had not much attended to such matters. I took a fancy that I too should compose something, and was induced by this incident to compose an air in the Chargah measure, as will be mentioned in its proper place. While taking an early glass, I said in sport that every person who sang a Tajik air should receive a goblet of wine. In consequence of this many persons drank their goblet of wine. About nine in the morning some persons, who were sitting in our party under a Tâl tree, proposed that every one who sang a Tûrki song should have a goblet of wine, and numbers sang their song, and claimed and received their goblet of wine. When the sun mounted high we went under the orange trees, and drank our wine on the banks of the canal. Next morning Khamzeh Khan, having been guilty of many crimes, and spilt innocent blood in murder, I delivered him up to the avengers of blood, by whom he was put to death in retaliation. Having read a section of the Koran I returned to Kâbul, where, having fed our horses, and taken a hasty dinner, we remounted the instant our horses had finished their barley.

Another hiatus here occurs in the manuscripts from January 1520 to November 1525—that is, from the end of the second expedition into India to the beginning of the fifth and final expedition into that country. The third expedition against India was made in 1520.

Baber inflicted punishment on those who had formerly joined him, and had subsequently revolted, and put to death many Afghâns, to the great relief of the peasantry, whom they had oppressed. He advanced to Sialkot, whose inhabitants surrendered, and saved their possessions; but the inhabitants of Syedpor, who resisted, were put to the sword.

Baber at this time received information that his terri-

tries had been invaded from the side of Kandahar. The events proved to him the necessity of leaving his own country protected before venturing on foreign conquests, and he bestowed the country of Badakshan on his eldest son, Hûmâûn. The moment was now favourable for his great ambition, the invasion of India.

The Empire of Delhi was not then what it afterwards became under Baber's grandson, Akbar. For some time past it had been in the hands of Afghân invaders. The reign of Ibrahim had been a bad one, and he had completely alienated the affections of his Afghân nobles, many of whom had retired beyond the Ganges, and the whole provinces, from Bedaun to Behar, were in the hands of rebels. Bengal had still its own sovereign, as had also Malwa and Guzerat. The Rajput princes had joined in a confederacy, with the Hindoo, Rana Sanka, at their head. The Punjab was held by Doulet Khan and his sons, Ghazi Khan and Dilawer Khan, who, Afghâns themselves, were alarmed at the fate of the Afghân nobles in other parts of the Empire, and eager to deliver themselves from the power of the Emperor Ibrahim. They, therefore, sent envoys to offer their allegiance to Baber, and beseech him to march to their succour. Nothing could have been more in unison with his wishes, and he entered Hindustân for the fourth time. The Afghâns, who were still in the interest of the Emperor Ibrahim, gave him battle at Lahore. They were defeated, and the bazaar and town of Lahore were burned.

This battle greatly strengthened the position of Doulet Khan, who had invited Baber to India, and who now joined him with his sons, Ghazi Khan and Dilawer Khan. But Baber had done enough, and Doulet Khan wished to get rid of him. With this view he informed him that a body of troops was waiting to harass him in his advance, and that it would be advisable to send a detachment to disperse them. Baber was making preparations for acting in conformity

with this advice when he was secretly informed by Dilawer Khan that it was given with a treacherous intention. He was soon convinced, or pretended to be convinced, of the truth of this, and threw Doulet Khan and Ghazi Khan into prison. They were afterwards released, and fled, leaving Dilawer Khan in possession of their estates. Under these circumstances Baber considered it inexpedient to advance to Delhi, and fell back on Lahore after he had crossed the Sutlej, and returned thence to Kâbul. He had now, however, gained a permanent footing beyond the Indus. During this invasion he had been joined by Sultan Alâeddîn, brother of the Emperor Ibrahim, whom Baber had probably flattered with hopes of the succession to the Empire of Hindustân.

Scarcely had Baber recrossed the Indus when Doulet Khan and Ghazi Khan issued from their retreat in the mountains, made Dilawer Khan prisoner, and rapidly advancing defeated Sultan Alâeddîn, who fled to Kâbul. Doulet Khan soon learned that Alâeddîn had been favourably received at Kâbul by Baber, who being himself obliged to march to the relief of Balkh, had sent Alâeddîn into Hindustân with orders to his generals there to accompany him in his march to Delhi, for the purpose of placing him on the throne of the Empire. Doulet Khan instantly wrote to Alâeddîn, congratulating him on his success, and promising him assistance.

A treaty was made between them, ceding to Doulet Khan the whole of the Punjab, which was then held by Baber. Baber considered that Alâeddîn's breach of faith, and treaty with Doulet Khan, had cancelled all their engagements. Alâeddîn's army, by the time it reached Delhi, mustered forty thousand horse.

The siege of Delhi, the defeat of Alâeddîn, and the events that followed are detailed by Baber himself in the memoirs, which now continue with his fifth and final invasion of Hindustân.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1525

ON Friday, the 1st of Sefer, in the year 1525, when the sun was in Sagittarius, I set out on my march to invade Hindustân Great and small, good and bad, servants and no servants, the force numbered twelve thousand persons

I halted at the Bagh-i-Vafa Here I was forced to wait some days for Hûmâiûn and the army that was with him In these Memoirs I have already repeatedly described the limits and extent of the Bagh-i-Vafa, its beauty and elegance. The garden was in great glory No one can view it without acknowledging what a charming place it is During the few days that we staid there we drank a great quantity of wine at every sitting, and took regularly our morning cup When I had no drinking parties, I had bhang parties In consequence of Hûmâiûn's delay beyond the appointed time, I wrote him sharp letters, taking him severely to task, and giving him many hard names At last Hûmâiûn arrived I spoke to him with considerable severity on account of his long delay. On Wednesday we marched thence, when I embarked on a raft, on which I proceeded down the river, drinking all the way till we reached Kosh-Gûmbez, where I landed and joined the camp

A day or two after, when we halted at Bekrâm, I had fever, attended with a cough, and every time that I coughed I brought up blood I knew whence this indisposition proceeded, and what conduct had brought on this chastisement

Before this, whatever had come into my head, good or bad, in sport or jest, if I had turned it into verse for amusement, how bad or contemptible soever the poetry might be, I had always committed it to writing On the present occasion, when I had composed some lines, my mind led me to reflections, and my heart was struck with regret that a tongue which could repeat the sublimest productions should bestow any trouble on such unworthy verses. that it was.

melancholy that a heart elevated to nobler conceptions should submit to occupy itself with these meaner and despicable fancies. From that time forward I religiously abstained from satirical or vituperative poetry. At the time of repeating this couplet I had not formed my resolution, nor considered how objectionable the practice was.

‘Then every one who fails and breaks his promise, that promise avenges its breach on his life, and he who adheres to his promises to God, God bestows on him boundless blessings.

‘What can I do with you, O my tongue !
On your account I am covered with blood within
How long, in this strain of satire, will you delight to compose verses,
One of which is impure, and another lying ?
If you say, Let me not suffer from this crime,—
Then turn your reins, and shun the field.

‘O my Creator, I have tyrannized over my soul, and, if Thou art not bountiful unto me, of a truth I shall be of the number of the accursed’

I now once more composed myself to penitence and self-control, I resolved to abstain from this kind of idle thoughts, and from such unsuitable amusements, and to break my pen. Such chastenings from the throne of the Almighty, on rebellious servants, are mighty graces, and every servant who feels and benefits from such chastisements has cause to regard them as overflowing mercies.

Marching thence, I halted at Ali Mesjid On account of the smallness of the encamping ground at this place, I was always accustomed to take up my quarters on an adjoining eminence; the troops all took their ground in the valley. As the hillock on which I pitched my tents commanded the neighbouring grounds, the blaze from the fires of the people in the camp below was wonderfully brilliant and beautiful It was certainly owing to this circumstance that every time that I halted in this ground I drank wine.

I took bhang before sunrise, and we continued our march. That day I fasted. We continued our march till



‘A rhinoceros had entered a little wood. We immediately proceeded towards the wood at full gallop, and cast a ring round it.’

we came near Bekrâm, where I went out to hunt the rhinoceros. We crossed the Siâh-Ab, and formed our ring lower down the river. When we had gone a short way, a man came after us with notice that a rhinoceros had entered a little wood, and that they had surrounded the wood and were waiting for us. We immediately proceeded towards the wood at full gallop and cast a ring round it. Instantly, on our raising the shout, the rhinoceros issued out into the plain and took to flight. Hûmâûn, and those who had come from the same quarter, never having seen a rhinoceros before, were greatly amused. They followed it for nearly two miles, shot many arrows at it, and finally brought it down. This rhinoceros did not make a good set at any person, or any horse. They afterwards killed another rhinoceros. I had often amused myself with conjecturing how an elephant and rhinoceros would behave if brought to face each other, on this occasion the elephant-keepers brought out the elephants, so that one elephant fell right in with the rhinoceros. As soon as the elephant-drivers put their beasts in motion the rhinoceros would not come up, but immediately ran off in another direction.

The general report was, that Ghâzi Khan had collected an army of thirty or forty thousand men, that Doulet Khan, old as he was, had buckled on two swords, and that they would certainly try the fate of a battle. I recollected the proverb which says, Ten friends are better than nine. That no advantage might be lost, I judged it most advisable, before fighting, to form a junction with the detachment of my army that was in Lahore. I therefore sent on messengers with instructions to the Amîrs, and at the second march reached the banks of the river Chenâb, where I encamped. I rode on towards Behlûlpûr, which is an imperial domain, and surveyed it on every side. Its castle stands on the banks of the Chenâb, upon an elevated ravine. It pleased me extremely, and I formed a plan of transferring the population of Siâlkot to this place. God willing, as soon as I

find leisure, I will complete my project. I returned from Behlûlpûr to the camp in a boat, and had a party, some drank spirits, some beer, and some took bhang. I landed from the boat about bedtime prayers, and we drank a little in my pavilion. I halted one day on the banks of the river to rest our horses.

On Friday, the 14th of the first Rebi, we arrived at Siâlkot. Every time that I have entered Hindustân, the Jats and Gûjers have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers, from their hills and wilds, in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes. These were the wretches that really inflicted the chief hardships, and were guilty of the severest oppression on the country. These districts, in former times, had been in a state of revolt, and yielded very little revenue that could be come at. On the present occasion, when I had reduced the whole of the neighbouring districts to subjection, they began to repeat their practices. As my poor people were on their way from Siâlkot to the camp, hungry and naked, indigent and in distress, they were fallen upon by the road with loud shouts and plundered. I sought out the persons guilty of this outrage, discovered them, and ordered two or three of the number to be cut in pieces.

Next morning I marched, and halted at Perserûr, where Muhammed Ali and some others accordingly came and waited on me. As the enemy's camp was on the banks of the Râvi, towards Lahore, I sent out a party to reconnoitre and bring in intelligence. About the end of the third watch of the night they came back with information, that the enemy, immediately on getting notice of their approach, had fled away in consternation, every man shifting for himself.

Doulet Khan now sent a person to inform me that Ghazi Khan had escaped and fled to the hills; but that if I would excuse his own offences, he would come as a slave and deliver up the place. I therefore sent Mîr Mîrân to confirm

him in his resolution, and to bring him out. His son, Ali Khan, accompanied that officer. In order to expose the rudeness and stupidity of the old man, I directed him to take care that Doulet Khan should come out with the same two swords hung round his neck, which he had hung by his side to meet me in combat. When matters had come this length, he still contrived frivolous pretexts for delay, but was at length brought out. I ordered the two swords to be taken from his neck. When he came to offer me his obeisances, he affected delays in bowing, I directed them to push his leg and make him bow. I then made him sit down before me, and desired a man who understood the Hindustâni language to explain to him what I said, sentence by sentence, in order to reassure him; and to tell him, 'I called you Father: I showed you more respect and reverence than you could have desired or expected. I delivered you and your sons from the insults of the Balûches. I delivered your tribe, your family, and women, from the bondage of Ibrâhim. The countries held by Tâtâr Khan, to the amount of 75,000*l.*, I bestowed on you. What evil have I ever done you, that you should come in this style against me, with these two swords by your side: and, attended by an army, stir up tumult and confusion in my territories?' The man, being stupified, stammered out a few words, not at all to the purpose, and, indeed, what could he say in answer to such confounding truths? It was settled that he and his family should retain their authority in their own tribes, and possession of their villages, but that all the rest of their property should be sequestered. They were directed to encamp close by Mir Mîrân.

On Saturday, the 22nd of the first Rebi, to ensure their good treatment while they were bringing out their dependents and families, I myself went and took my station on a rising ground opposite to the gate of Milwat. Several of the Begs about my person were directed to enter the fort. and to take possession of and secure their treasures and

all their property. Although Ghazi Khan was said to have left the place and fled, yet some reported that they had seen him within the fort. On this account I placed several of my trusty officers and servants at the gate, with orders to examine every person and place of which they had the least suspicion, that Ghazi Khan might not escape by any artifice, as now my grand object was to make him prisoner. They had also orders to seize any jewels or precious stones that might be attempted to be secretly conveyed out of the town. The troops made a great riot at the gate of the fort, which obliged me to discharge a few arrows to check their turbulence, a chance shot struck Hûmâûn's reader, who expired on the spot. After remaining on the hillock for two nights, on Monday I entered and surveyed the fort. I examined Ghazi Khan's library, and found in it a number of valuable books. Some of them I gave to Hûmâûn, and some I sent to Kamrân. There was also a number of theological books, but I did not, on the whole, find so many books of value as, from their appearance, I had expected.

I stayed in the fort all night, and next morning returned to the camp. We had been mistaken in imagining that Ghazi Khan was in the fort. That traitorous coward had fled, and escaped to the hills with a small number of followers, leaving his father, his elder and younger brothers, his mother, his elder and younger sisters, in Milwat :

‘ Observe that faithless man, for never
 Shall he see the face of good fortune,
 He takes care of his own comforts,
 Yet leaves his wife and children in misery ’

Khawâjeh Kilân had loaded some camels with the wines of Ghazni, and brought them to the camp. His quarters were on a high ground that overlooked the fort and camp. We had a party there, in which some drank wine and others spirits. It was a rare party.

Marching thence, and passing the small hills of Ab-kend by Milwat, we reached Dûn. In the language of Hindustân they call a dale *Dûn*. The finest running water in Hindustân is that in this Dûn. There are many villages around the Dûn. This Dûn is a very pleasant dale, and there are meadows all along the stream. In several places they sow rice. Through the middle of it runs a stream large enough to turn three or four mills. The width of the dale is three miles; in some places it is even five miles. Its hills are very small, like hillocks, and all its villages stand on the skirts of these hillocks. Where there are no villages there are numbers of peacocks and monkeys. There are also many fowls resembling barn-door fowls: they resemble them in shape, but are generally of a single colour.

As we could nowhere get any certain intelligence of Ghazi Khan, I sent orders to pursue him wherever he might go, to engage him, and bring him back a prisoner. In the country composed of small hills, that has been mentioned as lying around the Dûn, there are some wonderfully strong castles. To the north-east is a castle called Kôtila. It is surrounded by a rock 150 feet in perpendicular height. At its chief gate, for the space of about sixteen feet, there is a place that admits of a draw-bridge being thrown across. The bridge is composed of two long planks, by which their horses and flocks pass out and in. This was one of the forts of the hill-country which Ghazi Khan had put into a state of defence, and garrisoned. The detachment that had been pushed on attacked the place vigorously, and had nearly taken it, when night came on. The garrison then abandoned the castle and fled away. Near the Dûn is another strong castle, the country around which is all hilly, but it is not so strong as the former. Alim Khan, in his flight, had thrown himself into this fort, as has been already mentioned.

After sending a detachment in pursuit of Ghazi Khan,

I placed my foot in the stirrup of resolution, and my hand on the reins of confidence-in-God, and marched against Sultan Ibrâhim, the son of Sultan Iskander, the son of Sultan Behlûl Lodi Afghân, in whose possession the throne of Delhi and the dominions of Hindustân at that time were; whose army in the field was said to amount to a hundred thousand men, and who, including those of his Amirs, had nearly a thousand elephants. I sent a great part of the gold and effects found in the Fort of Milwat, to strengthen my interest in Balkh, and to Kâbul as presents to my relations and friends, and to my children and dependents.

At this station, we had information that Sultan Ibrâhim, who lay on this side of Delhi, was advancing and that the Shekdâr of Hissâr-Firôzeh, had also advanced thirty miles towards us with the army of Hissâr Firôzeh, and of the neighbouring districts. I sent on Kitteh Beg towards Ibrâhim's camp to procure intelligence, and dispatched Momin Atkeh towards the army of Hissâr-Firôzeh to get notice of its motions.

On Sunday, the 18th of the first Jemâdî I marched from Ambâla, and halted on the margin of a Tank. The command of the whole right wing I gave to Hûmâûn. It was at this station, too, that Biban came and made his submission. These Afghâns are provokingly rude and stupid. Although Dilâwer Khan, who was his superior, both in the number of his retainers and in rank, did not sit in the presence, and although the sons of Alim Khan stood, though they were princes, this man asked to be allowed to sit, and expected me to listen to his unreasonable demand.

Next morning, Hûmâûn set out with his light force to attack Hamîd Khan by surprise. Hûmâûn dispatched on before him a hundred or a hundred and fifty select men, by way of advanced guard. On coming near the enemy, this advanced body went close up to them, hung upon their flanks, and had one or two encounters, till the troops of

Hûmâiûn appeared in sight following them. No sooner were they perceived than the enemy took to flight. Our troops brought down one hundred or two hundred of their men, cut off the heads of the one half, and brought the other half alive into the camp, along with seven or eight elephants. Beg Mirak Moghul brought the news of this victory of Hûmâiûn to the camp at this station. On the spot, I directed a complete dress of honour, a horse from my own stable, with a reward in money, to be given to him.

Hûmâiûn reached the camp with a hundred prisoners, and seven or eight elephants, and waited on me. I ordered the Matchlockmen to shoot all the prisoners as an example. This was Hûmâiûn's first expedition, and the first service he had seen. It was a very good omen. Some light troops having followed the fugitives, took Hissâr-Firôzeh the moment they reached it, and returned after plundering it. Hissâr-Firôzeh, which, with its dependencies and subordinate districts, yielded 25,000*l.*, I bestowed on Hûmâiûn, with 25,000*l.* in money as a present.

Marching from that station we reached Shahâbâd. I sent fit persons towards Sultan Ibrâhim's camp to procure intelligence, and halted several days in this station. From this place also I dispatched Rahmet Piâdeh to Kâbul, with letters announcing my victory.

NOTE BY HUMAIUN

(At this same station, and this same day, the razor, or scissors, were first applied to Hûmâiûn's beard. As my honoured father mentions in these commentaries the time of his first using the razor, in humble emulation of him, I have commemorated the same circumstances regarding myself. I was then eighteen years of age. Now that I am forty-six, I, Mahomed Hûmâiûn, am transcribing a copy of these Memoirs from the copy in his late Majesty's own handwriting.)

In this station, the sun entered Aries, we now began also to receive repeated information from Ibrâhim's camp, that he was advancing slowly by a mile or two at a time, and halting two or three days at each station. I, on my side, likewise moved on to meet him, and encamped on the banks of the Jumna. Haider Kûli was sent out to procure intelligence. I crossed the Jumna by a ford. At Sîrsâweh, there is a fountain, from which a small stream flows. It is rather a pretty place. Terdi Beg praised it highly. I said—'Yours be it,' and in consequence of these praises, I bestowed it on Terdi Beg. Having raised an awning in a boat, we sometimes sailed about on the broad stream of the river, and sometimes entered the creeks in the boat.

From this station we held down the river for two marches, keeping close along its banks, when Haider Kûli, who had been sent out to collect intelligence, returned, bringing information that Daûd Khan and Hatim Khan had been seen across the river into the Doab with six or seven thousand horse, and had encamped five or six miles in advance of Ibrâhim's position on the road towards us. I dispatched against this column, the whole left wing, as well as part of the centre under Yûnis Ali, with instructions to advance rapidly and fall upon them by surprise. About noonday prayers, they crossed the river near our camp, and between afternoon and evening prayers set out from the opposite bank. Next morning, about the time of early prayers, they arrived close upon the enemy, who put themselves in some kind of order, and marched out to meet them: but our troops no sooner came up, than the enemy fled, and were followed in close pursuit, and slaughtered all the way to the limits of Ibrâhim's camp. The detachment took one of the generals, with seventy or eighty prisoners, and six or eight elephants, all of which they brought in when they waited on me. Several of the prisoners were put to death, to strike terror into the enemy.

Marching thence, I arranged the whole army in order of

battle, with right and left wing and centre, and after reviewing it, performed the *vîm*. The custom of the *vîm* is that, the whole army being mounted, the commander takes a bow or whip in his hand, and guesses at the number of the army, according to a fashion in use, and in conformity with which they affirm that the army may be so many. The number that I guessed was greater than the army turned out to be.

At this station I directed that, according to the custom of Rûm, the gun-carriages should be connected together with twisted bull-hides as with chains. Between every two gun-carriages were six or seven breastworks. The matchlockmen stood behind these guns and breastworks, and discharged their matchlocks. I halted five or six days in this camp, for the purpose of getting this apparatus arranged. After every part of it was in order and ready, I called together all the Amîrs, and men of any experience and knowledge, and held a general council. It was settled that as Panipat was a considerable city, it would cover one of our flanks by its buildings and houses, while we might fortify our front by covered defences, and cannon, and that the matchlockmen and infantry should be placed in the rear of the guns and breastworks. With this resolution we moved, and in two marches reached Panipat. On our right, were the town and suburbs. In my front I placed the guns and breastworks which had been prepared. On the left, and in different other points, we dug ditches and made defences of the boughs of trees. At the distance of every bowshot, a space was left large enough for a hundred or a hundred and fifty men to issue forth. Many of the troops were in great terror and alarm, Trepidation and fear are always unbecoming. Whatsoever Almighty God has decreed from all eternity, cannot be reversed, though, at the same time, I cannot greatly blame them; they had some reason, for they had come two or three months' journey from their own country; we had to engage in arms a strange nation,

whose language we did not understand, and who did not understand ours :

‘ We are all in difficulty, all in distraction,
Surrounded by a people, by a strange people ’

The army of the enemy opposed to us was estimated at one hundred thousand men, the elephants of the emperor and his officers were said to amount to nearly a thousand. He possessed the accumulated treasures of his father and grandfather, in current coin, ready for use. It is an usage in Hindustân, in situations similar to that in which the enemy now were, to expend sums of money in bringing together troops who engage to serve for hire. Had he chosen to adopt this plan, he might have engaged one or two hundred thousand more troops. But God Almighty directed everything for the best. He had not the heart to satisfy even his own army and would not part with any of his treasure. Indeed, how was it possible that he should satisfy his troops, when he was himself miserly to the last degree, and beyond measure avaricious in accumulating pelf? He was a young man of no experience. He was negligent in all his movements, he marched without order, retired or halted without plan, and engaged in battle without foresight. While the troops were fortifying their position in Panipat and its vicinity, with guns, branches of trees, and ditches, Mohammed Sarbân said to me, ‘ You have fortified our ground in such a way that it is not possible he should ever think of coming here ’. I answered, ‘ You judge of him by the Khans and Sultans of the Uzbeks. It is true that, the year in which we left Samarkand and came to Hissâr, a body of the Uzbek Khans and Sultans having collected and united together, set out from Derbend in order to fall upon us. I brought the families and property of all the Moghuls and soldiers into the town and suburbs, and closing up all the streets, put them in a defensible state. As these Khans and Sultans were perfectly versed in the proper times and

seasons for attacking and retiring, they perceived that we were resolved to defend Hissâr to the last drop of our blood, and had fortified it under that idea, and seeing no hopes of succeeding in their enterprise, fell back by Bundak. But you must not judge of our present enemies by those who were then opposed to us. They have not ability to discriminate when it is proper to advance and when to retreat.' God brought everything to pass favourably. It happened as I foretold. During the seven or eight days that we remained in Panipat, a very small party of my men, advancing close up to their encampment and to their vastly superior force, discharged arrows upon them. They did not, however, move, or make any demonstration of sallying out. At length, induced by the persuasions of some Hindustâni Amîrs, in my interest, I sent four or five thousand men on a night attack. They did not assemble properly in the first instance, and as they marched out in confusion, did not get on well. The day dawned, yet they continued lingering near the enemy's camp till it was broad daylight, when the enemy, on their side, beat their kettle-drums, got ready their elephants, and marched out upon them. Although our people did not effect anything yet, in spite of the multitude of troops that hung upon them in their retreat, they returned safe and sound, without the loss of a man. Muhammed Ali was wounded with an arrow, and though the wound was not mortal, yet it disabled him from taking his place in the day of battle. On learning what had occurred, I immediately detached Hûmâiûn with his division two miles in advance, to cover their retreat, while I myself, remaining with the army, drew it out, and got it in readiness for action. The party which had marched to surprise the enemy fell in with Hûmâiûn, and returned with him. As none of the enemy came near us, I drew off the army, and led it back to the camp. In the course of the night we had a false alarm: for nearly twenty-five minutes the call to arms and the uproar continued. Such of the troops as had never before witnessed an

alarm of the kind, were in great confusion and dismay. In a short time, however, the alarm subsided.

By the time of early morning prayers, when the light was such that you could distinguish one object from another, notice was brought from the advanced patrols that the enemy were advancing, drawn up in order of battle. We too immediately braced on our helmets and our armour, and mounted. The right division was led by Hûmâiûn, the left division was commanded by Muhammed Sultan Mirza. The right of the centre was commanded by Chin 'Taimûr Sultan, the left of the centre by Khalifeh. The advance was led by Khosrou Gokultâsh. Abdul-Azîz, master of horse, had the command of the reserve. On the flank of the right division I stationed Wali Kazîl, with their Moghuls, to act as a flanking party. On the extremity of the left division I stationed Kara-Kûzi, to form the flankers, with instructions, that as soon as the enemy approached sufficiently near, they should take a circuit and come round upon their rear.

When the enemy first came in sight, they seemed to bend their force most against the right division. I therefore detached Abdul-Azîz, who was stationed with the reserve, to reinforce the right. Sultan Ibrâhim's army, from the time it first appeared in sight, never made a halt, but advanced right upon us at a quick pace. When they came closer, and on getting a view of my troops, found them drawn up in the order and with the defences that have been mentioned, they were brought up and stood for a while, as if considering, 'Shall we halt or not? shall we advance or not?' They could not halt, and they were unable to advance with the same speed as before. I sent orders to the troops stationed as flankers on the extremes of the right and left divisions, to wheel round the enemy's flank with all possible speed, and instantly to attack them in the rear; the right and left divisions were also ordered to charge the enemy. The flankers accordingly wheeled on the rear of the enemy, and began to make discharges of arrows on them. Mehdi

Khwâjeh came up before the rest of the left wing. A body of men with one elephant advanced to meet him. My troops gave them some sharp discharges of arrows, and the enemy's division was at last driven back. I dispatched from the main body Ahmedî Perwâñchî to the assistance of the left division. The battle was likewise obstinate on the right. I ordered Muhammedî Gokultâsh to advance in front of the centre and engage Ustâd Alî also discharged his guns many times in front of the line to good purpose. Mûstafa, the cannoncer, on the left of the centre, managed his artillery with great effect. The right and left divisions, the centre and flankers having surrounded the enemy and taken them in rear, were now engaged in hot conflict, and busy pouring in discharges of arrows on them. They made one or two very poor charges on our right and left divisions. My troops making use of their bows, plied them with arrows, and drove them in upon their centre. The troops on the right and left of their centre, being huddled together in one place, such confusion ensued, that the enemy, while totally unable to advance, found also no road by which they could flee. The sun had mounted spear-high when the onset of battle began, and the combat lasted till mid-day, when the enemy were completely broken and routed, and my friends victorious and exulting. By the grace and mercy of Almighty God, this arduous undertaking was rendered easy for me, and this mighty army, in the space of half a day, laid in the dust. Five or six thousand men were discovered lying slain, in one spot, near Ibrâhim. We reckoned that the number lying slain, in different parts of this field of battle, amounted to fifteen or sixteen thousand men. On reaching Agra we found, from the accounts of the natives of Hindustân, that forty or fifty thousand men had fallen in this field. After routing the enemy, we continued the pursuit slaughtering, and making them prisoners. Those who were ahead, began to bring in the Amîrs and Afghâns as prisoners. They brought in a very great number of elephants with their drivers, and

offered them to me as peshkesh. Having pursued the enemy to some distance, and supposing that Ibrâhim had escaped from the battle, I appointed a party of my immediate adherents, to follow him in close pursuit down as far as Agra. Having passed through the middle of Ibrâhim's camp, and visited his pavilions and accommodations, we encamped on the banks of the Siâh-ab.

It was now afternoon prayers when Tahir Taberi, the younger brother of Khalifeh, having found Ibrâhim lying dead amidst a number of slain, cut off his head, and brought it in.

That very day I directed Hûmâûn Mirza to set out without baggage or encumbrances, and proceed with all possible expedition to occupy Agra, and take possession of the treasures. I at the same time ordered Mehdi Khwâjeh to leave the baggage behind, to push on by forced marches, to enter the Fort of Delhi, and seize the treasures.

Next morning we marched, and having proceeded about two miles, halted on the banks of the Jumna, in order to refresh our horses. After three marches, I encamped near Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna. I bestowed the office of military collector of Delhi on Wali Kizil, I made Dost Diwân of Delhi, and directed the different treasures to be sealed, and given into their charge. Moulâna Mahmûd, Sheikh Zin, and some others, went into Delhi, to Friday-prayers, read the prayer in my name, distributed some money among the fakîrs and beggars, and then turned back.

A few days later I halted in the suburbs of Agra, at the palace of Sulimân. As this position was very far from the fort, I next morning moved and took up my quarters at the palace of Jilâl Khân. The people of the fort had put off Hûmâûn, who arrived before me, with excuses, and he, on his part, considering that they were under no control, and wishing to prevent their plundering the treasure, had taken a position to shut up the issues from the place.

Bikermâjit, a Hindu, who was Raja of Gualîr, had.

'I could not return and took up my quarters at the palace of Jilál Khán.'



governed that country for upwards of a hundred years. In the battle in which Ibrâhim was defeated, Bikermâjit was sent to hell. Bikermâjit's family, and the heads of his clan, were at this moment in Agra. When Hûmâiûn arrived, Bikermâjit's people attempted to escape, but were taken by the parties which Hûmâiûn had placed upon the watch, and put in custody. Hûmâiûn did not permit them to be plundered. Of their own free will they presented to Hûmâiûn a peace-offering, consisting of a quantity of jewels and precious stones. Among these was one famous diamond, the Koh-i-nor, which had been acquired by Sultan Alâuddîn. It is so valuable, that a judge of diamonds valued it at half of the daily expense of the whole world. It is about 320 ratis. On my arrival, Hûmâiûn presented it to me, and I gave it back to him as a present.

Among the officers of superior importance in the fort was Malek Dâd Kerâni, who, having been convicted of some frauds, was ordered for punishment. When Malek Dâd Kerâni was carried out, much intercession was made for him. Backwards and forwards, the matter was not settled for four or five days, when, according to the desire of his intercessors, I pardoned him, and, even conferred on him some marks of favour, I also permitted all his adherents to retain their property. A district of the value of 70,000*l.* was bestowed on Ibrâhim's mother. Districts were also given to each of her Amirs. She was conducted with all her effects to a palace which was assigned for her residence, about a mile below Agra.

On Thursday, the 28th of Rejeb, about the hour of afternoon prayers, I entered Agra, and took up my residence at Sultan Ibrâhim's palace. From the time when I conquered the country of Kâbul, which was in the year 1504, till the present time I had always been bent on subduing Hindustân. Sometimes, however, from the misconduct of my Amirs and their dislike of the plan, sometimes from the cabals and opposition of my brothers, I was prevented from

prosecuting any expedition into that country, and its provinces escaped being overrun. At length these obstacles were removed. There was now no one left, great or small, noble or private man, who could dare to utter a word in opposition to the enterprise. In the year 1519, I collected an army, and having taken the fort of Bajour by storm, put all the garrison to the sword. I next advanced into Behreh, where I prevented all marauding and plunder, imposed a contribution on the inhabitants, and having levied it to the amount of four hundred thousand shahrukhis in money and goods, divided the proceeds among the troops who were in my service, and returned back to Kâbul. From that time till the year 1526, I attached myself in a peculiar degree to the affairs of Hindustân, and in the space of these seven or eight years entered it five times at the head of an army. The fifth time, the Most High God, of his grace and mercy, cast down and defeated an enemy so mighty as Sultan Ibrâhim, and made me the master and conqueror of the powerful empire of Hindustân.

Their prince, Sultan Ibrâhim, from the resources of his kingdom, could bring into the field an army of five hundred thousand men. At that time some of the Amîrs to the east were in a state of rebellion. His army on foot was computed to be a hundred thousand strong, his own elephants, with those of his Amîrs, were reckoned at nearly a thousand. Yet, under such circumstances, and in spite of this power, placing my trust in God, and leaving behind me my old and inveterate enemy, the Uzbeks, who had an army of a hundred thousand men, I advanced to meet so powerful a prince as Sultan Ibrâhim, the lord of numerous armies, and Emperor of extensive territories. In consideration of my confidence in Divine aid, the Most High God did not suffer the distress and hardships that I had undergone to be thrown away, but defeated my formidable enemy, and made me the conqueror of the noble country of Hindustân. This success I do not ascribe to my own

after Sultan Alâuddîn's death, the kingdom devolved by succession to his son, who now reigned. There is another usage in Bengal: it is reckoned disgraceful and mean for any king to spend or diminish the treasures of his predecessors. It is reckoned necessary for every king, on mounting the throne, to collect a new treasure for himself. To collect a treasure is, by these people, deemed a great glory and ground of distinction. There is another custom, that districts have been assigned from ancient times to defray the expenses of each department, the treasury, the stable, and all the royal establishments, no expenses are paid in any other manner.

A description of India, its flora and fauna, is here given in the Memoirs, but is too long for insertion.

Baber sums up as follows:—

Hindustân is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture, they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not even a candlestick.

The chief excellency of Hindustân is, that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver. Another convenience of Hindustân is, that the workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable, and without end. For any work, or any employment, there is always a set ready, to whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages.

On Saturday, the 29th of Rejeb, I began to examine



I distributed the treasure Every man who had come with me carried off presents and gratuities To the country of Kabûl, to every soul, man or woman, slave or free, of age or not, I sent one rupee as a gift '

and to distribute the treasure I gave Húmáún 700,000*l.* from the treasury, and, over and above this treasure, a palace of which no account or inventory had been taken. To some Amirs I gave 100,000*l.* to others 80,000*l.*, 70,000*l.*, and 60,000*l.* On the Afghâns, Hazâras, Arabs, Balúches, and others that were in the army, I bestowed gratuities from the treasury, suited to their rank and circumstances. Every merchant, every man of letters, in a word, every person who had come in the army along with me, carried off presents and gratuities, which marked their good fortune and superior luck. To the country of Kabúl, as an incentive to emulation to every soul, man or woman, slave or free, of age or not, I sent one rupee as a gift.

When I came to Agra it was the hot season. All the inhabitants fled from terror, so that we could not find grain nor provender, either for ourselves or our horses. The villages, out of hostility and hatred to us, had taken to rebellion, thieving and robbery. The roads became impassable. I had not had time, after the division of the treasure, to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different pergunnas and stations. It happened too that the heats were this year uncommonly oppressive. Many men about the same time dropped down, as if they had been affected by the Simûm wind, and died on the spot.

On these accounts, not a few of my Begs and best men began to lose heart, objected to remaining in Hindustân, and even began to make preparations for their return. If the older Begs who were men of experience, had made these representations there would have been no harm in it, for if such men had communicated their sentiments to me, I might have got credit for possessing at least so much sense and judgment as, after hearing what they had to urge, to be qualified to decide on the expediency or inexpediency of their opinions, to distinguish the good from the evil. But what sense or propriety was there in eternally repeating

the same tale in different words, to one who himself saw the facts with his own eyes, and had formed a cool and fixed resolution in regard to the business in which he was engaged? What propriety was there in the whole army, down to the very dregs, giving their stupid and unformed opinions? It is singular that when I set out from Kâbul this last time, I had raised many of low rank to the dignity of Beg, in the expectation that if I had chosen to go through fire and water, they would have followed me back and forward without hesitation, and that they would have accompanied me cheerfully, march where I would. It never surely entered my imagination, that they were to be the persons who were to arraign my measures, nor that, before rising from the council, they should show a determined opposition to every plan and opinion which I proposed and supported in the council and assembly. From the time we left Kâbul, till we had defeated Ibrâhim and taken Agra, Khwâjeh Kilân had behaved admirably, and had always spoken gallantly, giving such opinions as befitted a brave man, but a few days after the taking of Agra, all his opinions underwent a complete change. Khwâjeh Kilân was now, of all others, the most determined on turning back.

I no sooner heard this murmuring among my troops, than I summoned all my Beks to a council. I told them that empire and conquest could not be acquired without the materials and means of war. That royalty and nobility could not exist without subjects and dependent provinces: That, by the labours of many years, after undergoing great hardships, measuring many a toilsome journey, and raising various armies, after exposing myself and my troops to circumstances of great danger, to battle and bloodshed, by the divine favour, I had routed my formidable enemy, and achieved the conquest of the numerous provinces and kingdoms which we at present held. 'And now, what force compels, and what hardship obliges us, without any visible

cause after having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat back to Kâbul with every symptom of disappointment and discomfiture? Let not any one who calls himself my friend ever henceforward make such a proposal. But if there is any among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or to give up his purpose of returning back, let him depart.' Having made them this fair and reasonable proposal, the discontented were of necessity compelled, however unwillingly, to renounce their seditious purposes. Khwâjeh Kilân not being disposed to remain, it was arranged, that as he had a numerous retinue, he should return back to guard the presents, I had but few troops in Kâbul and Ghazni, and he was directed to see that these places were all kept in proper order, and amply supplied with the necessary stores. I bestowed on him Ghazni, I also gave him the district of Kehrâm in Hindustân, yielding a revenue of 30,000*l*. Khwâjeh Kilân, who was heartily tired of Hindustân, at the time of going, wrote the following verses on the walls of some houses in Delhi—

(*Tûrki*)—‘If I pass the Sind safe and sound,
May shame take me if I ever again wish for Hind’

When I still continued in Hindustân, there was an evident impropriety in his composing and publishing such vituperative verses. If I had previously cause to be offended at his leaving me, this conduct of his doubled the offence. I composed a few extempore lines, which I wrote down and sent him

(*Tûrki*)—‘Return a hundred thanks, O Baber! for the bounty of
the merciful God
Has given you Sind, Hind, and numerous kingdoms,
If unable to stand the heat, you long for cold,
You have only to recollect the frost and cold of Ghazni’

A few days after the festival of Shawâl, we had a great feast in the grand hall, which is adorned with the peristyle

of stone pillars, under the dome in the centre of Sultan Ibrâhim's private palace. On that occasion I presented Hûmâiûn with a shawl of cloth of gold, a sword with the belt, and a horse with a gold saddle. To Chin Taimur and Muhammed Sultan, I gave a shawl of cloth of gold, a sword with the belt and a dagger. To the other Begs and officers I gave, according to their circumstances, a sword with a belt, a dagger, and dresses of honour, so that on the whole there were given one horse with the saddle, two pairs of swords with the belts, twenty-five sets of enamelled daggers, two daggers set with precious stones, and twenty-eight vests of purpet. On the day of the feast there was a great deal of rain, it rained thirteen times. Many of those who seated on the outside were completely drenched.

It always appears to me that one of the chief defects of Hindustân is the want of artificial water-courses. I had intended, wherever I might fix my residence, to construct water-wheels, to produce an artificial stream, and to lay out a regularly planned pleasure-ground. Shortly after coming to Agra, I passed the Jumna with this object in view, and examined the country, to pitch upon a fit spot for a garden. The whole was so ugly and detestable, that I repassed the river quite repulsed and disgusted. In consequence of the want of beauty, and of the disagreeable aspect of the country, I gave up my intention of making a garden, but as no better situation presented itself near Agra, I was finally compelled to make the best of this same spot. I first of all began to sink the large well which supplies the baths with water, I next fell to work on that piece of ground on which are the tamarind trees, and the octangular tank, I then proceeded to form the large tank and its inclosure, and afterwards the tank and grand hall of audience that are in front of the stone palace. I next finished the garden of the private apartments, and the apartments themselves, after which I completed the baths. In this way, going on, without neatness and without order, in the Hindu

*‘One of the chief defects of Hindustán is the want of artificial water-courses
Shortly after coming to Agra I planted gardens In every garden I sowed
roses and narcissi’*



فرمود که این خرابی را برجه و پستان ساختند پس از آن خرابی خرابی شد



fashion, I, however, produced edifices and gardens which possessed considerable regularity. In every corner I planted suitable gardens, in every garden I sowed roses and narcissuses regularly, and in beds corresponding to each other. We were annoyed with three things in Hindustân. one was its heat, another its strong winds, the third its dust. Baths were the means of removing all three inconveniences. In the bath we could not be affected by the winds. During the hot winds, the cold can there be rendered so intense, that a person often feels as if quite powerless from it. The room of the bath, in which is the tub or cistern, is finished wholly of stone. The water-run is of white stone, all the rest of it, its floor and roof, is of a red stone. Several other people, who procured situations on the banks of the river, made regular gardens and tanks, and constructed wheels, by means of which they procured a supply of water. The men of Hind, who had never before seen places formed on such a plan, or laid out with so much beauty, gave the name of Kâbul to the side of the Jumna on which these palaces were built.

There was an empty space within the fort of Agra, between the palace and the ramparts. I directed a large well to be constructed on it, twenty feet square. In the language of Hindustân, they denominate a large well, having a staircase down it, wâin. This wâin was begun before the garden was laid out, they were busy digging it during the rains, but it fell in several times, and smothered the workmen. After my holy war against Rana Sanka, as is mentioned in the Memoirs, I gave orders for finishing it, and a very excellent wâin was completed. In the inside of the wâin there was constructed an edifice of three different stories. The lowest story has three open halls, and you descend to it by the well, the descent is by means of a flight of steps, and there is a passage leading to each of the three different halls. Each hall is higher than the other by three steps. In the lowest hall of all, at the season when

the waters subside, there is a flight of steps that descends into the well. In the rainy season, when the water is high, the water comes up into the uppermost of these halls. In the middle story there is a hall of carved stone, and close by it a dome, in which the oxen that turn the water-wheel move round. The uppermost story consists of a single hall. From the extremity of the area that is at the top of the well, at the bottom of a flight of five or six steps, a staircase goes off from each side to this hall, and proceeds down to its right side. Straight opposite to the entrance is a stone, containing the date of the building. By the side of this well, a shaft or pit has been dug, in such a way, that the bottom of it is a little higher than the middle of the well. The cattle, moving in the dome that has been mentioned, turn a water-wheel, by which the water is raised from the one well into the other well or shaft. On this last-mentioned shaft they have erected another wheel, by which the water is raised to a level with the ramparts, and flows into the upper gardens. At the place where the staircase issues from the well, they have built a house of stone; and beyond the inclosure that surrounds the well, a stone mosque has been built, but it is ill built, and after the style of Hindustân.


EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1526.

In the month of Moharrem, Beg Weis arrived with news of the birth of Farûk; although a messenger on foot had previously brought me the news, yet Beg Weis came this month for the purpose of communicating the good tidings. He was born on Friday eve, the 23rd of the month of Shâwâl, and named Farûk.

I had directed Ustâd Alî Kûhî to cast a large cannon, for the purpose of battering Biâna, and some other places which had not submitted. Having prepared the forges and all the necessary implements, he sent a messenger to give me notice

that everything was ready. We went to see Ustâd Alî Kûlî cast his gun. Around the place where it was to be cast were eight forges, and all the implements in readiness. Below each forge they had formed a channel, which went down to the mould in which the gun was to be cast. On my arrival, they opened the holes of all the different forges. The metal flowed down by each channel in a liquid state, and entered the mould. After waiting some time, the flowing of the melted metal from the various forges ceased, one after another, before the mould was full. There was some oversight either in regard to the forges or the metal. Ustâd Alî Kûlî was in terrible distress, he was like to throw himself into the melted metal that was in the mould. Having cheered him up, and given him a dress of honour, we contrived to soften his shame. Two days after, when the mould was cool, they opened it. Ustâd Alî Kûlî, with great delight, sent a person to let me know that the chamber of the gun for the shot was without a flaw, and that it was easy to form the powder chamber. Having raised the bullet chamber of the gun, he set a party to work to put it to rights, while he betook himself to completing the powder chamber.

Mehdî Khwâjeh, who had received the charge of Fateh Khan from Hûmâiûn, brought him to court. I gave Fateh Khan a favourable reception, and bestowed on him the country of his father, with some places in addition, to the value of 400,000*l*. In Hindustân it is customary to bestow on the Amîrs who are in the highest favour certain titles. One of these is Azîm. As I saw no propriety in any one's bearing this title except Hûmâiûn himself, I abolished it.

On Wednesday, the 20th of Sefer, I erected awnings on the banks of the tank, on the side above the tamarind trees, and had a feast, when I invited Fateh Khan to a drinking party, made him drink wine, invested him with a turban, and a complete dress of honour from head to foot, and, after distinguishing him by these marks of favour and grace, gave him leave to return to his own country.  was arranged

that his son Mahmûd Khan should always remain at court.

‘A very important incident happened on Friday, the 16th of Rabîa-ul-Awal, in this year. The circumstances are these:—The mother of Ibrâhim, an ill-fated lady, had heard that I had eaten some things from the hand of natives of Hindustân. It happened in this way. Three or four months ago, never having seen any of the dishes of Hindustân, I desired Ibrâhim’s cooks to be called, and out of fifty or sixty cooks, four were chosen and retained. The lady, having heard the circumstance, sent a person to Etâweh to call Ahmed, the taster, and delivered into the hands of a female slave an ounce of poison, wrapped up in a folded paper, desiring it to be given to the taster Ahmed. Ahmed gave it to a Hindustâni cook who was in my kitchen, seducing him with the promise of four districts, and desiring him, by some means or other, to throw it into my food. She sent another female slave after the one whom she had desired to carry the poison to Ahmed, in order to observe if the first slave delivered the poison or not. It was fortunate that the poison was not thrown into the pot, it was thrown into the tray. He did not throw it into the pot, because I had strictly enjoined the tasters to watch the Hindustânis, and they had tasted the food in the pot while it was cooking. When they were dishing the meat, my graceless tasters were inattentive, and he threw it upon a plate of thin slices of bread, he did not throw above one half of the poison that was in the paper upon the bread, and put some meat fried in butter upon the slices of bread. If he had thrown it above the fried meat, or into the cooking pot, it would have been still worse, but in his confusion, he spilt the better half of it on the fire-place.

‘On Friday, when afternoon prayers were past, they dished the dinner. I was very fond of hare, and ate some, as well as a good deal of fried carrot. I was not, however, sensible of any disagreeable taste, I likewise eat a morsel or

two of smoke-dried meat, when I felt nausea. The day before, while eating some smoke-dried flesh, I had felt an unpleasant taste in a particular part of it. I ascribed my nausea to that incident. The nausea again returned, and I was seized with so violent a retching, two or three times while the tray was before me, that I had nearly vomited. At last, perceiving that I could not check it, I went out. While on the way my heart rose, and I had again nearly vomited. When I had got outside I vomited a great deal.

‘I had never before vomited after my food, and not even after drinking wine. Some suspicions crossed my mind. I ordered the cooks to be taken into custody, and desired the meat to be given to a dog, which I directed to be shut up. Next morning about the first watch, the dog became sick, his belly swelled, and he seemed distressed. Although they threw stones at him, and shoved him, they could not make him rise. He remained in this condition till noon, after which he rose and recovered. Two young men had also eaten of this food. Next morning they too vomited much, one of them was extremely ill, but both in the end escaped.

“A calamity fell upon me, but I escaped in safety
Almighty God bestowed a new life upon me,—
I came from the other world,—
I was again born from my mother’s womb

“I was broken and dead, but am again raised to life,
Now, in the salvation of my life, I recognise the hand of God.”

‘I ordered Muhammed Bakhshi to guard and examine the cooks, and at last all the particulars came to light, as they have been detailed.

‘On Monday, being a court day, I directed all the grandees and chief men, the Begs and Vazîrs, to attend the *Diwân*. I brought in the two men and the two women, who, being questioned, detailed the whole circumstances of the affair in all its particulars. The taster was ordered to be cut to pieces. I commanded the cook to be flayed alive.

One of the women was ordered to be trampled to death by an elephant; the other I commanded to be shot with a matchlock. The lady I directed to be thrown into custody. She too, pursued by her guilt, will one day meet with due retribution. On Saturday I drank a bowl of milk. I also drank some of the makhtum flower, brayed and mixed in spirits. The milk scoured my inside extremely. Thanks be to God, there are now no remains of illness! I did not fully comprehend before that life was so sweet a thing. The poet says,

“Whoever comes to the gates of death, knows the value of life.”

‘Whenever these awful occurrences pass before my memory, I feel myself involuntarily turn faint. The mercy of God has bestowed a new life on me, and how can my tongue express my gratitude? Having resolved with myself to overcome my repugnance, I have written fully and circumstantially everything that happened. Although the occurrences were awful, and not to be expressed by the tongue or lips, yet by the favour of Almighty God, other days awaited me, and have passed in happiness and health.’

[Baber was now King of Delhi, but by no means Emperor of India. At the battle of Panipat he had broken the power of the Afghans. He had now to deal with the Hindus under Rana Sanka, the head of the Rajputs, one of the finest fighting races of India. All his campaigns hitherto had been against fellow Muslims, now, for the first time, he was marching against ‘heathens’. It was the ‘Jihad’—the holy war. The Rajputs, energetic, chivalrous, fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by a strong national spirit, were ready to meet the boldest veterans of the camp, and were at all times prepared to lay down their life for their honour. All spoke of their bravery and daring, and the army, in fact, was almost in a panic at the reports of their numbers and their courage.]

On Sunday I went to see Ustâd Alî Kûhî fire that same great gun, of which the ball-chamber had been uninjured at the time of casting, and the powder-chamber of which he had afterward cast and finished, as has been mentioned. We went to see how far it would throw. It was discharged about afternoon prayers, and carried one thousand six hundred paces.

On the 9th of the first Jemâdî, I began my march to the holy war against the heathen. Having passed the suburbs, I encamped on the plain, where I halted three or four days, to collect the army and communicate the necessary instructions. As I did not place great reliance on the men of Hindustân, I employed their Amîrs in making desultory excursions in different directions.

At this station we received information that Rana Sanka had pushed on with all his army nearly as far as Biâna. The party that had been sent out in advance were not able to reach the fort, nor even to communicate with it. The garrison of Biâna had advanced too far from the fort, and with too little caution, and the enemy having unexpectedly fallen upon them in great force, completely routed them.

It occurred to me that, situated as I was, of all the places in this neighbourhood, Sîkri being that in which water was most abundant, was, upon the whole, the most desirable station for a camp, but that it was possible that the Pagans might anticipate us, take possession of the water and encamp there. I therefore drew up my army in order of battle, and advanced in battle array.

I had directed that the different Begs should have charge of the advance and scouts in turn. When it was Abdul-Azîz's day, without taking any precautions, he advanced within ten miles of Sîkri. The pagans were on their march forward when they got notice of his imprudent and disorderly advance, which they no sooner learned, than a body of four or five thousand of them at once pushed on and fell upon him. Abdul-Azîz had with him about a thousand or

fifteen hundred men. Without taking into consideration the numbers or position of the enemy, they immediately engaged. On the very first charge, a number of their men were taken prisoners and carried off the field. Messengers now arrived in rapid succession, to inform me that the enemy had advanced close upon us. We lost no time in buckling on our armour; we arrayed our horses in their mail, and were no sooner accoutred than we mounted and rode out; I likewise ordered the guns to advance. After marching two miles we found that the enemy had retreated.

There being a large tank on our left, I encamped there to have the benefit of the water. We fortified the guns in front, and connected them by chains. Between every two guns we left a space of sixteen feet, which was defended by a chain. Mustafa Rûmî had disposed the guns according to the Rûmî fashion. He was extremely active, intelligent, and skilful in the management of artillery. As Ustâd Ali Kûlî was jealous of him, I had stationed Mûstafa in the right with Hûmâûn. In the places where there were no guns, I caused the Hindustâni pioneers and spademen to run a ditch. In consequence of the bold and unexpected advance of the Pagans, joined to the result of the engagement that had taken place at Biâna, aided by the praises and encomiums passed on them by Shah Mansûr, and those who had come from Biâna, there was an evident alarm diffused among the troops, the defeat of Abdul-Azîz completed this panic. In order to reassure my troops, and to add to the apparent strength of my position, wherever there were not guns, I directed things like tripods to be made of wood, and the spaces between each of them, being sixteen feet, to be connected and strengthened by bull's hides twisted into ropes. Twenty or twenty-five days elapsed before these machines and furniture were finished. During this interval, five hundred persons arrived from Kâbul. Muhammed Sherîf, the astrologer, a rascally fellow, came along with

them Baba Dost Súchí, who had been sent to Kâbul for wine, came back with some choice wine of Ghazní, laden on three strings of camels, and arrived in their company. While the army was yet in the state of alarm and panic that has been mentioned, in consequence of past events and of ill-timed and idle observations that had been spread abroad, that evil-minded wretch Muhammed Sheríf, instead of giving me any assistance, loudly proclaimed to every person whom he met in the camp, that at this time Mars was in the west, and that whoever should engage coming from the opposite quarter would be defeated. The courage of such as consulted this villainous soothsayer, was consequently still farther depressed. Without listening to his foolish predictions, I proceeded in taking the steps which the emergency seemed to demand, and used every exertion to put my troops in a fit state to engage the enemy.

On Monday, the 23d of Jemâdi-ul-Awal, I had mounted to survey my posts, and in the course of my ride, was seriously struck with the reflection that I had always resolved, one time or another, to make an effectual repentance, and that some traces of a hankering after the renunciation of forbidden works had ever remained in my heart. I said to myself, O, my soul !

‘How long wilt thou continue to take pleasure in sin ?
Repentance is not unpalatable—Taste it

‘How great has been thy defilement from sin !—
How much pleasure thou didst in despair !—
How long hast thou been the slave of thy passions !—
How much of thy life hast thou thrown away !—
Since thou hast set out on a Holy War,
Thou hast seen death before thine eyes for thy salvation.
He who resolves to sacrifice his life to save himself,
Shall attain that exalted state which thou knowest
Keep thyself far away from all forbidden enjoyments,
Cleanse thyself from all thy sins
Having withdrawn myself from such temptation,
I vowed never more to drink wine ’

Having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying my mind. The fragments of the goblets, and other utensils of gold and silver, I directed to be divided among the poor. The first person who followed me in my repentance was Asas, who also accompanied me in my resolution of ceasing to cut the beard, and of allowing it to grow. That night and the following, numbers of Amîrs and courtiers, soldiers and persons not in the service, to the number of nearly three hundred men, made vows of reformation. The wine which we had with us we poured on the ground. I ordered that the wine brought by Bâba Dost should have salt thrown into it, that it might be made into vinegar. On the spot where the wine had been poured out, I directed a wâin to be sunk and built of stone, and close by the wâin an alms-house to be erected. I had previously made a vow, that if I gained the victory over Rana Sanka, the pagan, I would remit the stamp tax levied from Musulmans. At the time when I made my vow of penitence, Muhammed Sârbân put me in mind of my promise. I said, 'You did right to remind me of this. I renounce the stamp tax in all my dominions, so far as concerns Musulmans,' and I sent for my secretaries, and desired them to write and send to all my dominions Firmâns, conveying intelligence of the two important incidents that had occurred.

At this time, as I have already observed, in consequence of preceding events, a general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a courageous opinion. The Vazîrs, whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the Amîrs who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or deportment such as became men of firmness. During the whole course of this expedition Khalifeh conducted himself admirably, and was unremitting and inde-

fatigable in his endeavours to put everything in the best order. At length, observing the universal discouragement of my troops, and their total want of spirit, I formed my plan. I called an assembly of all the Amirs and officers, and addressed them.—‘Noblemen and soldiers! Every man that comes into the world is subject to dissolution. When we are passed away and gone, God only survives, unchangeable. Whoever comes to the feast of life, must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death. He who arrives at the inn of mortality, must one day inevitably take his departure from that house of sorrow—the world. How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy!

“With fame, even if I die, I am contented,
Let fame be mine, since my body is Death’s”

The Most High God has been propitious to us, and has now placed us in such a crisis, that if we fall in the field, we die the death of martyrs, if we survive, we rise victorious, the avengers of the cause of God. Let us, then, with one accord, swear on God’s holy word, that none of us will even think of turning his face from this warfare, nor desert from the battle and slaughter that ensues, till his soul is separated from his body.’

Master and servant, small and great, all with emulation, seizing the blessed Korán in their hands, swore in the form that I had given. My plan succeeded to admiration, and its effects were instantly visible, far and near, on friend and foe.

On Saturday, the 13th of the latter Jemâdî, having dragged forward our guns, and advanced our right, left, and centre in battle array, we reached the ground that had been prepared for us. Many tents were already pitched, and they were engaged in pitching others, when news was brought that the enemy’s army was in sight. I immediately mounted, and gave orders that every man should, without delay, repair to his post, and that the guns and lines

should be properly strengthened. As the letter announcing my subsequent victory contains a clear detailed account of it, I therefore subjoin the official dispatch *

After this victory I used the epithet *Ghâzi*, in the imperial titles. On the official account of the victory, below the imperial titles, I wrote the following verses:—

(*Tûrki*)—‘ For love of the Faith I became a wanderer in the desert,
I became the antagonist of Pagans and Hindûs,
I strove to make myself a martyr,—
Thanks be to the Almighty who has made me a Ghâzi ’ (victorious over the enemies of the Faith).

Muhammed Sherîf, the astrologer, whose perverse and seditious practices I have mentioned, came to congratulate me on my victory. I poured forth a torrent of abuse upon him, and when I had relieved my heart by it, although he was heathenishly inclined, perverse, extremely self-conceited, and an insufferable evil-speaker, yet, as he had been my old servant, I gave him 400*l.* as a present, and dismissed him, commanding him not to remain within my dominions.

The treasures had been divided, but I had not hitherto found leisure to make any arrangement as to the provinces, the holy war against the Pagans having intervened to prevent me. Being now relieved from the war with the infidels, I made a division of the different provinces and districts, and the rainy season being near at hand, I directed every person to repair to his own country, to prepare his accoutrements and arms, and be in readiness to join me again when the rains were over.

At this time I received information that Hûmârûn had repaired to Delhi, and had there opened several of the houses which contained the treasure, and taken possession by force of the contents. I certainly never expected such conduct from him, and, being extremely hurt, I wrote and sent him some letters containing the severest reprehension

* This dispatch is too long for insertion.—ED

From the eleventh year of my age till now, I had never spent two festivals of the Ramzân in the same place. Last year's festival I had spent in Agra. In order to keep up the usage, on Sunday night the thirtieth, I proceeded to Sikrî to keep the feast there. A stone platform was erected on the north-east of the Garden-of-Victory, on which a set of large tents was pitched, and in them I passed the festival. The night on which we left Agra, Mîr Ali departed. He was extremely fond of playing cards, and had asked for some, which I sent him.

One of the last entries refers to a great feast and durbar at Agra. He writes:—‘I had a great feast in the garden, and sat in a pavilion covered with grass for coolness. On my right sat the Ambassadors from Samarkand, on my left sat the Uzbek and Hindu Ambassadors.

‘Before dining, while the presents were coming in, there was an investiture of robes of honour. To the men who had come from Andegan, who without a country and without a home had roamed with me in my wanderings in many lands, to all my veterans and tried men I gave dresses of honour with gold and silver.

‘After dining, there were fights of furious camels and elephants. There were ram-fights, and matches of wrestlers, jugglers and tumblers, and dancing girls, and a great quantity of gold and silver money was scattered. There was a precious hubbub. Next morning I went in a boat.’

The affairs of Hindustan had now been reduced to a certain degree of order. The revenue from land was returned at 4,212,000%. This was from land alone and by no means represented the total income.

In his latter years, Baber had an intense longing to revisit his native mountains. To Kwajeh Kilan he writes:—

‘As soon as the affairs of Hindustân are in order I shall set out for your quarter without losing a moment’s time. How is it possible that the delights of those lands should ever be erased from my heart? They very recently brought me in a musk-melon. While cutting it up I felt myself affected with a strong feeling of loneliness and a sense of exile from my native country and I could not help weeping.’

But the journeys of the Great Moghul were nearly over. Frequent and prolonged attacks of fever warned





him that the climate of India was not to be trifled with, and even his hardy constitution began to give way. Yet between the fits of fever his vigour remained extraordinary. He used to take a man under his arm and run with him round the battlements of a fortress, leaping the embrasures.

Even in March, 1529, he notes:—‘I swam across the river Ganges for amusement. I counted my strokes and found that I swam over in thirty-three strokes. I then took breath and swam back to the other side. I had crossed by swimming every river between Kabul and Agra.’

He was also perpetually in the saddle, sometimes riding eighty miles a day.

Humayun had probably heard reports of his father’s ill-health, for without giving warning he set off with impetuous haste and arrived unexpectedly at Agra.

Baber writes:—‘I was just talking with his mother about him, when in he came. His presence opened our hearts like rosebuds and made our eyes shine like torches. It was my rule to keep open table every day, but on this occasion I gave feasts in his honour, and showed him every kind of distinction. We lived together for some time in the greatest intimacy. The truth is that his conversation had an inexpressible charm, and he realised absolutely the ideal of perfect manhood.’

DEATH OF BABER.

The historian, Abul-Fazl, gives the following account of the death of Baber.

Humayun, who had been away from Agra for some months, was brought back in the last stage of fever, and the doctors were powerless. At this juncture it was suggested that only a supreme sacrifice could save him, and Baber, who eagerly caught at the hope, said that he would sacrifice his own life. In vain it was suggested that he should sacrifice the Koh-i-nor. 'Is there any stone,' he answered, 'that can be weighed against my son? Rather shall I pay his ransom myself'

Persisting in his resolution, he walked three times round the bed, praying earnestly, a solemnity similar to that used in sacrifices. Suddenly he was heard to exclaim, 'I have borne it away, I have borne it away.'

The Mussulman historians assure us that Humayun immediately began to recover, and that in proportion as he recovered, the life of Baber ebbed away. Nervous prostration and anxiety for his son had probably undermined his strength.

Baber died on December 26th, 1530, at the age of forty-eight, after thirty-six years of kingship; and in accordance with his own instructions he was buried by the spring in the garden on the hillside at Kabul, a place of which he writes, 'when the arghwan flowers are in bloom, the yellow mingling with the red, I know no place in the world to compare with it.'

Pilgrims still visit the grave of Baber, First of the Great Moghuls.

EPITOME OF SUCCEEDING MOGHUL REIGNS.

HUMAYUN, 1530-1556.

HUMAYUN was brave, genial, witty, generous, highly educated; but he had contracted the opium habit, was unable to concentrate his energies for any length of time, and was eminently unfitted to consolidate the conquests of his father. He was, in fact, dependent on his generals, and when, after reigning eight years, he was defeated at Kanauj by one Sher Khan, he lost at one blow all that Baber had gained south of the Indus

Baber had indeed conquered the greater part of India, but he had done little to consolidate his Empire, and he bequeathed to his son Humayun merely a number of separate states, each governed by a standing army, and having nothing in common one with the other

A curious story, which throws some light on the character of Humayun, relates that after one of his earlier defeats his life was saved by a water-carrier, who swam with him across the Ganges, supported by an inflated water-skin

Humayun promised that if they reached Agra alive the water-carrier might, as a reward, claim to be King for a day. The promise was fulfilled, and for a day the 'bhisti' sat on the throne of India, the leather bag being cut into discs and stamped as coin in the mint. The jest, however, was far from being appreciated by the Imperial Princes

Eventually he had to fly from India to Persia, accompanied by his sixteen-year-old wife, and it was during their flight across the great desert, in August, that his eldest son, Akbar, was born.

Humayun did not meet with a very cordial reception from the Shah of Persia, in spite of his gift to that monarch of the Koh-i-nor. It was not till he had renounced his Sunni faith that he was given fifteen thousand horse with which to recover his kingdom, and no less than thirteen years had elapsed after his flight from Kanauj when, in the year 1555, he recrossed the Indus and recovered Northern India.

The confusion in that country had in the meanwhile risen to a great height, and Humayun was preparing for a further advance, when he was killed by a fall from a staircase.

He cannot be called in any sense a great monarch, but he had many difficulties to contend with, not the least being the rebellions of his brothers. Perhaps his greatest claim to fame is that he was the father of Akbar.

AKBAR, 1556-1605.

AKBAR was undoubtedly one of the greatest men who have ever lived, and was centuries in advance of his time. Born during the flight of his parents, he was left behind in a fortress, and fell into the hands of the enemy. Three times during the first eight years of his life this happened to him, and each time he was restored to his father, but on the last occasion not until he had been exposed on the walls of Kabul to induce his father to cease the bombardment of the city.

The situation at the time of his accession was a trying one. The Moghul army had just been defeated near Delhi, and a day later came the news that Kabul had revolted. Akbar, who was only thirteen years old, consulted his nobles, and all, with one exception, urged him to fall back on Kabul. Against this the Commander-in-Chief, Bairam Khan, alone raised his voice. Delhi, he said, was the decisive point, not Kabul, and Akbar, whose instincts coincided with this advice, ordered an immediate advance across the Sutlej.

Here he was joined by the defeated Moghul army under Tardi Beg, between whom and Bairam Khan there had always been bitter jealousy. Thereupon Bairam Khan, on the pretext that Tardi Beg had not done his duty, summoned him to his tent and had him assassinated, an act of violence which Akbar never forgave.

The breach between him and Bairam Khan was widened by the following incident which happened not long afterwards. Some rebels in Oudh having been defeated, the leader, badly wounded, was brought before Akbar. 'This is your first war, my prince,' said the old warrior Bairam Khan; 'prove your sword upon this infidel.' 'How can I prove my sword on one who is little better than a dead

man ?' replied the boy. Bairam Khan immediately cut down the wounded man

Akbar was now marching on to the historic plains of Panipat, where, exactly thirty years before, his grandfather Baber had struck down the house of Lodi and won the Empire of Hindostan. Akbar was confronted by the army of the usurper, Hemu, and he must have known that the ensuing battle would be the decisive one of the century, but he did *not* know that it would prove the starting-point of a dynasty in India which would last two hundred years, until a third battle of Panipat should strike it down for ever, and the advent of an island race efface it.

The decisive victory of Panipat gave Akbar possession of Delhi, and though he had yet to reconquer the greater part of his grandfather's territories, thenceforward he was without a formidable rival in India.

It was fortunate that at the time of his accession he had a strong man in the person of Bairam Khan, the Commander-in-Chief; but the latter had, as we have seen, offended his master, and had succeeded in raising a fanatical spirit in the army. Accordingly, at the age of seventeen, Akbar took the reins of government into his own hands, and wrote to Bairam Khan as follows:—'Till now our mind has been taken up with our education, and by the amusements of youth, and it was our royal will that you should regulate the affairs of our Empire. But, it being our intention henceforward to govern our people by our own judgment, let our well-wisher withdraw from all worldly concerns, and, taking the pilgrimage to Mecca, on which he has for so long been intent, spend the rest of his days in prayer, far removed from the toils of public life.'

Upon the receipt of this letter Bairam Khan broke into open revolt, divided the army and took the field, but he was soon absolutely defeated, and sent an abject appeal for pardon to the Emperor. In reply, Akbar sent a sovereign's guard of honour, with orders to bring in Bairam Khan with

Lakers and hestie at a well , the Emperor riding past



every mark of distinction, and at the same time sent him the following message :—

‘If Bairam Khan loves a military life, the Governorship of Kalpe offers field for his ambition. If he prefers to remain at Court our favour will never be wanting to the benefactor of our family. But if he chooses devotion, he shall be escorted to Mecca with all the honour due to his rank, and receive a pension of 50,000 rupees annually.’

Bairam Khan chose the last alternative, and Akbar thenceforth reigned alone.

Akbar did not delight in war, and never made it unless it was absolutely necessary for the safety of his dominions. Hitherto war had been made to pay for war, but he instituted a new principle of paying for everything, and damage to crops was, as far as possible, paid for on the spot. He saw at once the futility of Baber’s scheme of government, and he recognised, as none of his predecessors had ever done, the necessity of governing in the interests of the conquered peoples. This was his first principle, and he aimed at nothing less than a union of all India under one head, with equal government and toleration for all.

Born in a bigoted creed, he reasoned himself out of all dogmas and creeds. He used to say, ‘There is good in every creed, adopt the good, discard the remainder,’ and under him, Mussulman, Hindu, Parsi, and Christian had equal justice. In view of the proverbial difficulty of Indian legislation, it is almost incredible that Akbar should have accomplished so much in the first twenty years of his reign.

The tax on alien religions, and the tax on pilgrims, both of which had been a great source of revenue, were abolished. ‘I will cut no man off from his own mode of intercourse with his Maker,’ he said. ‘Sati,’ the burning of widows, was, as far as possible, prohibited, and slavery was absolutely put down. Steps were taken to provide against famine, inland tolls were done away with, and in all land legislation the first object was fairness to the cultivator. Finding the

land tax pressed too hardly, he inaugurated experimental farms in order to get personal experience, and met with an opposition which all who know India will understand. He altered the whole revenue administration, and left it practically as it is to-day.

Child-marriages were made illegal, and the re-marriage of a widow was declared lawful. He prohibited the slaughter of animals for sacrifice, and also trial by ordeal, and he discouraged, though he did not forbid, excessive prayers, fasts, and pilgrimages. In deference to Hindu prejudices, the slaughter of cattle was discouraged, and dogs, of which he was particularly fond, and which by the Mahomedan religion are regarded as unclean, were declared by him to be clean. He encouraged a moderate use of wine.

The first years of his reign were passed in incessant fighting and hardships, and his life at this time was full of reckless bravery and escapes that might compare with those of his grandfather Baber himself.

He displayed great generalship, his policy was always to strike quickly and hard, a typical example of which was his expedition against the Usbeks of Oudh during the monsoon season, when, by making a forced march across a flooded country he crossed the swollen Ganges by night and surprised their camp at daybreak.

His chief amusement was hunting: great drives of the forest were the order of the day, but these were suddenly discontinued, under the following curious circumstances. It happened one day that Akbar had taken his stand and the drive was in full swing, when the sight of a chinkara fawn caused a revulsion of feeling, and 'a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, an extraordinary sense of rage such as none had ever seen the like in him before, to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. At this time he ordered the hunting to be abandoned. Active men made every endeavour that no one should even touch the feather of a finch.' He never sanctioned another drive.

He continued, however, to hunt big game, chiefly elephants, but his great delight was polo, which he played as it is played to-day; and, finding the Indian summer evenings too short, he arranged to play by night with luminous balls.

He built the great fort at Agra, and then the city of Fatehpur-Sikri (the city of Victory)—a city of marble and sandstone palaces built on the side of a hill overlooking an immense lake, which, unfortunately, dried up, with the result that the city had to be abandoned. There it stands to-day, as the day when it was built, a city of the dead, left for three hundred years to the hyena and the sun. Few sights can be more impressive than this silent witness of a bygone dynasty. There stand the deserted palaces with their nurseries and their swimming baths, the playing courts, the treasures and halls of justice, the pictures still on the walls, and, vieing with the Taj itself, the Great Mosque, the tomb within entirely overlaid with mother-o'-pearl, the most beautiful thing of its kind in the world.

It is impossible to touch on this reign without a reference to Abul-Fazl, Akbar's other self, the great Minister to whom he always turned when in doubt. One of Akbar's greatest acts was his dealing with the religious question, and in this he received the utmost support from his Minister.

Abul-Fazl was frankly agnostic, what Akbar's religion was it would be hard to say, unless the following inscription written for a temple in Kashmir might serve as his creed. 'In every Temple they seek Thee, in every language they praise Thee. Each Religion says that it holds Thee, the One. But it is Thee whom I seek from temple to temple; for Heresy and Orthodoxy stand not behind the screen of thy Truth. Heresy to the Heretic, Orthodoxy to the Orthodox, but only the dust of the Rose Petal remains to the seller of perfume.'

He built a House of Argument in which the learned of all sects and creeds held endless discussion, but at last

he took the law into his own hands, proclaimed himself head of the Church, and mounting the pulpit in the great Mosque read the Kutbah prayer in his own name.

Henceforth his dreams of universal tolerance and absolute unity were realised.

He had eight wives, one of whom was a Christian, and he wisely kept a separate establishment for each. But his sons were the tragedy of his life; dissolute, arrogant, cruel beyond belief, they were totally incapable of understanding his ideas. Two died of drink; the eldest, Jahangir, revolted, was pardoned and rebelled again. It is said by some that the true cause of the exodus from Fatehpur-Sikri was not lack of water but the recollections of the bitter years caused by the conduct of his sons. His one mistake was his lenient treatment of them.

The last blow was the murder of Abul-Fazl at the instigation of Jahangir. Akbar never knew who was the author of the crime, but he never recovered from the shock.

As he lay dying it was proposed that his grandson should succeed him, but, summoning his nobles round him, he declared for his eldest son.

Akbar reigned fifty years, his reign being conterminous with that of Queen Elizabeth. He is buried near Agra, the granite slab under which he is interred being inscribed with the single word 'Akbar'.

During his reign three Englishmen, John Newberry, Ralph Fitch and William Leedes, arrived at the Court, bearers of a letter from Queen Elizabeth to 'Yellabdin Echebar, King of Cambaya, Invincible Emperor,' and in 1618, during the reign of his successor, Sir Thomas Roe was sent as first Ambassador to India.

One may well conclude the memoir of a great Monarch by citing the following passage from Malleon's *Akbar* ('Rulers of India.')

'One of the means which Akbar employed to weld

India together was that of marriage between himself, his family, and the daughters of the indigenous princes. The Rajput princes could not fail to feel that their relationship to the throne insured their position.

‘When they reflected on the position of Hindustan prior to his rule, how the conquests of the preceding five centuries had introduced strife and disorder without cohesion, and that this man coming upon them as a boy, inexperienced and untried in the art of ruling, had introduced order and good government, toleration and justice wherever he conquered, that he conquered only that he might introduce those principles; that he made no distinction between men on account of their diversity of race or of religious belief; they, apt to believe in the incarnation of the deity, must have recognized something more than ordinarily human, something approaching to the beneficent and the divine.’

JAHANGIR, 1605-1627.

JAHANGIR, who succeeded on the death of Akbar, reigned for twenty-two years, and was a man of a very different character to his father

He thought that Akbar had too openly severed himself from the Mahomedan faith, and his first act was to strike at the very foundation of the unity of his Empire by restoring the Mahomedan confession of faith to the coins of the realm. He also conformed more strictly to the outward observances of Islam and forbade the use of wine to his subjects. But his private life was utterly at variance with his outward profession.

His personal character, as vividly portrayed by Sir Thomas Roe, and further illustrated by his own memoirs, is that of a man incapable of placing the smallest restraint on his passions.

He relates in his Memoirs, that he used to drink as much as twenty cups a day, at first of wine, 'then of double distilled liquor,' of such potency that it made the British Ambassador sneeze, to the delight of the whole Court; while Sir Thomas Roe relates that the Emperor drank till he got muddled, every night, after which 'he turned to sleep, the candles were popped out, and I groped my way out in the dark.'

In public, however, he maintained a strict appearance of virtue, and on one occasion when a courtier, who had shared his midnight revel, indiscreetly alluded to it next morning, the Emperor gravely examined him as to who could possibly have been his companions in such a debauch, and bastinadoed them so severely, that one of them died.

When sober, Jahangir tried to work wisely for his Empire. A chain hung down from the citadel to the

ground, and communicated with a cluster of golden bells in his own chamber, so that any man might demand justice from the Emperor without the intervention of the courtiers.

He was also wise enough to continue his father's policy of tolerance towards foreigners. Many European adventurers repaired to his Court, and Jahangir patronised their arts, filling his palaces with statues and pictures. His revenues were immense, being estimated at no less than fifty millions sterling.

A thread of romance runs through his life. A boy in the palaces at Fatehpur-Sikri, he was playing one morning with two doves, and, seeing a child sitting beside a well, gave her the birds to hold, and ran on. Returning presently he found that one of the doves had escaped, and, angry at the loss, he abused the girl roundly for her carelessness. 'How could it have happened?' he demanded. 'Like this,' she replied, throwing the other into the air. The astonishment of the Heir of India may well be imagined.

The girl was Nurjahan, the daughter of a noble Persian family, but born in poverty, she was endowed with great sense as well as extraordinary beauty. Accordingly it was not long before Jahangir announced his intention of marrying her, but his father Akbar refused his consent, probably for political reasons, not wishing his son to marry a Mahomedan.

Akbar therefore gave Nurjahan an estate in Bengal, and married her to one of his officers.

Fourteen years afterwards, when Jahangir came to the throne, he commanded the divorce of Nurjahan, and, being met by a point-blank refusal, had the husband murdered and Nurjahan brought to Agra. She refused, however, to have anything to say to the drink-sodden murderer of her husband, and for the time Jahangir had to confess himself defeated. Nurjahan refused any pension, and supported herself by painting and embroidery, and by the manufacture of attar of roses, which sold for its weight in gold.

At length, six years afterwards, and twenty years after the meeting at the well, Nurjahan became Empress under the name Nurmahal ('Light of the Palace'). Her influence, at first, was entirely for good, but the betrothal of her daughter, by her first husband, to the Emperor's younger son lead to jealousy and rebellion on the part of the eldest son Shahjahan, who eventually revolted, and succeeded in taking his father prisoner. While on his way to Kashmir for the summer the Emperor had halted for the night on the banks of the Jhelum, and, following the Indian custom, the greater part of the camp moved on during the night, leaving only the imperial tents standing. In this unguarded moment five thousand Rajput horsemen suddenly swooped down, cut the bridge of boats, and captured the Emperor, but the Empress escaped. On the same night an attempt at rescue was made and failed, most of the attacking party being drowned, and on the following morning the Empress herself headed an attack, crossing the Jhelum on her elephant and displaying the greatest bravery, but the Rajputs won the day. Her mahout was killed, and her elephant being wounded plunged into the river and sank in deep water, so that she narrowly escaped with her life.

As a last resource she surrendered in order to accompany her husband, and her surrender was met by an order for her execution, but this order was afterwards cancelled.

Eventually both she and the Emperor escaped, but the reign was over, and in the midst of war and rebellion Jahangir died.

His reign of twenty-two years may be said to have been chiefly occupied in self-indulgence, and in attempting to repress the rebellions of his sons.

SHAHJAHAN, 1627~1657

SHAHJAHAN, who succeeded his father, was the son of a Rajput Princess, and had more Indian than Moghul blood in his veins.

He put down for ever the Court faction of the Empress by confining her and murdering his brother and all the other members of the House of Akbar who might become rivals to the throne. But when he had become firmly established on the throne he showed himself just to his people, blameless in his habits, and a good administrator.

During his reign the province of Kandahar was lost to the Empire, but, on the other hand, the Deccan (Southern India) was at last annexed, and to the already immense revenues was added the gold of Golconda.

The Marathas, who were destined in the next century to break down the Moghul Empire, now appear on the scene in Southern India.

The reign was chiefly noted for peaceful prosperity. Shahjahan was a good financier, and Hindu, Mahomedan, and Christian writers concur in extolling the equity of his rule, his wise and liberal administration, the probity of his courts, and the prosperity of the country.

He was fond of display: on days of festival he was weighed after the Moghul fashion against the precious metals, and bowls of jewels were poured over him, all of which, to the value of a million and a half, were distributed among the people. His peacock throne was valued by the jeweller, Tavernier, at six and a half millions sterling. But all this splendour did not make him arrogant, in fact he discontinued the practice of prostration before the royal presence.

Shahjahan will chiefly be remembered as the builder of the Taj at Agra, as a monument to his wife, who had died

after the birth of her fourteenth child. 'This wonder of the world, 'designed by Titans, and finished by jewellers,' is said to have been the work of Italian architects, while for its decoration skilled carvers were requisitioned from China, Persia, Burma, and Ceylon.

He also built a splendid palace at Delhi, now called the Fort, which covers a parallelogram two-thirds of a mile in length and a third of a mile in depth. The entrance consists of a deeply recessed gateway leading into a vaulted hall, which springs up like the nave of a gigantic Gothic cathedral—'the noblest entrance,' says Fergusson, 'to any existing palace.' The court of audience, also, is a masterpiece of delicate inlaid work. But splendid as these buildings of Shahjahan are, they lack the solid grandeur of Akbar's redstone fort at Agra.

As Shahjahan grew old his benevolence did not decrease, but he abandoned himself more and more to pleasure, and at last, when he found that the burden of state interfered with his enjoyment, he took the fatal step of dividing his Empire between his four sons, with the result that there immediately ensued a fratricidal struggle for the crown.

The old Emperor was deposed, kept in confinement for seven years, and died a State prisoner in the fort at Agra.

The characters of the four sons of Shahjahan have been drawn by Bernier, who knew them all personally, and was physician to each in succession.

Dara, the eldest, was generous but conceited, proud of his intellectual gifts and intolerant of advice or contradiction, at the same time priding himself on his breadth of view. He was probably something of an agnostic, and called his brother Aurangzib 'the Saint.'

Shuja, the second son, was discreet, subtle, and a dexterous diplomatist, knowing well how to bribe the Hindu chiefs; but he was a slave to his pleasures, and wine and the zenana proved fatal to his career.

Aurangzib, the third son, who emerged successful from the struggle with his brothers, differed very widely from them in character, as will appear from the following memoir of his life

Murad, the youngest of the four, was brave as a lion, open as the day, but a fool in politics and reckless in debauch. The hereditary passion for wine led to his perdition.

Two daughters of Shahjahan played an important part in the intrigues; the elder, the Princess Royal, devoted herself to her father, and was never married, but she is said to have consoled herself; the younger supported Aurangzib and hated the other brothers.

Aurangzib at the age of twenty-four announced his intention of retiring from the world, and adopted the life of a fakir, or mendicant friar, but soon growing tired of this he was given a command in Balkh, then held by the Uzbeks.

When he reached the scene of his government he saw at once that the position was untenable, made peace with the King of the Uzbeks, restored the provinces, and marched home. Many of his men died on the way from cold and exposure, and only a remnant reached Kabul, after an expenditure which cost more than two million pounds.

The next year he was again given a command, and marched at the head of an army 'like the waves of the sea,' with siege-train and 3000 camels carrying ammunition.

The expedition failed, but these campaigns in Afghanistan, though of no historical importance, were of the greatest service to Aurangzib. They put him in touch with the Imperial Army, and enabled him to prove his courage and generalship in the eyes of the best soldiers in the land, and when they saw him in the midst of a battle, at the hour of evening prayer, calmly dismounting

performing his religious rites under fire, they recognised the mettle of the man. Henceforth he was a factor to be reckoned with.

At this juncture the old Emperor fell ill, and the struggle for the crown began.

Shuja, who was Governor of Bengal, was the first in the field. He announced that his father had been poisoned by Dara, proclaimed himself Emperor, and marched on Agra. Murad, who was Viceroy in the west, caused coins to be struck and prayers for the Emperor to be recited in his own name, and he then proceeded to carry by assault and plunder the city of Surat. Dara, who was Viceroy in the north, held a trump card in having the old Emperor practically a prisoner in his palace at Delhi. Aurangzib alone played a waiting game.

Dara lost no time in sending the Imperial armies to meet Shuja and Murad, and made his first false move in dividing his forces, though it is true Shuja was defeated and put to flight. Aurangzib now wrote to Murad to congratulate him on his capture of Surat, and added 'whatever course you have resolved upon in opposition to our abandoned brother, you may count on me as an ally.' He also suggested that they should try to reclaim their brother and send him on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Under pretence of setting their father free the two princes now marched on Agra, while Dara advanced to meet them with 120,000 men and 80 guns.

In the battle which ensued the day went at first in favour of Dara. Murad in the thick of the fighting was wounded, three thousand Uzbeks charged his elephant, which turned to flight. Thereupon Murad ordered its legs to be chained so that flight was impossible and remained with his son, a child of eight years old, sitting in the howdah beside him. Meanwhile, in another part of the field Aurangzib was left with barely a thousand adherents.

He also had ordered the legs of his elephant to be chained together, when one Raja Singh, 'washing his hands of life,' cut his way through the Moghuls, and strove to cut the girths of the howdah.

At this crisis, Dara committed a fatal error. All looked at his elephant as the standard of victory, yet he chose this moment to dismount. He may have been alarmed by a rocket, which had just struck the howdah, or he may have listened to treacherous counsel, but, however that may be, a report spread that he was dead. In a brief moment the tide had turned, and Aurangzib had won the peacock throne.

The victorious Aurangzib and Murad entered Agra, imprisoned the old Emperor, seized the treasure, and set out in pursuit of Dara.

But Murad was still to be disposed of. He had vast sums of money and the title of King. Aurangzib soon contrived to make him disgracefully drunk in public, and the same night had him secretly conveyed to the state prison in Delhi.

It needed all Aurangzib's eloquence and much bribery to reconcile the army to this action, but it was done, and Dara being hotly pursued was forced to take refuge with the robbers of Kutch.

But Aurangzib during his return from the pursuit, had a very narrow escape. He was riding ahead of the army, when he suddenly came upon 5000 Rajputs, headed by Raja Jai Singh, a staunch supporter of Dara. He knew that he was in deadly peril. Riding straight up to Jai Singh he exclaimed, 'Hail, my Lord Raja! Impatiently have I awaited you. The war is over and Dara is dead.' Then taking off his pearl necklace and putting it round the Rajput's neck, he said, 'I appoint you Governor of Lahore, and commit all things to your charge. We shall soon meet, haste to Lahore, farewell.' The Rajputs retired and Aurangzib rode safely back to Agra.

AURANGZIB, 1658-1707.

AURANGZIB was forty years old when he came to the throne and he reigned fifty years, 1658-1707

During the first half of his reign the Moghul Empire had reached its zenith, during the latter half it was hastening to its decline

The revenue from land alone was $43\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or more than double what it is to-day from a vastly increased area and population, while the total revenue is estimated to have been over 90,000,000*l*.

All Mahomedan writers extol Aurangzib as a saint; all contemporary Christians denounce him as a hypocrite, they could not reconcile his piety and public prayers with wholesale unnatural murder

To the Mussulman of India he is the ideal type of the devout and uncompromising Mahomedan King with a deep zeal for the faith

He was a bigot, nothing in life weighed for an instant in his mind against his fealty to the principles of Islam. For religion he persecuted the Hindus and destroyed their temples, for religion he waged unending war in the Deccan, not to enlarge his territories, but to bring the heretic within the dominion of Islam. At one time, during a period of four weeks, in which a comet was visible, he lived only on bread and water and slept on the ground with only a tiger-skin to cover him

He knew the Koran by heart, and had copied it twice. He did his best to suppress music, in accordance with the example of the Prophet; and one day, seeing a crowd of singers following a bier, he asked what it meant, and was told that it was the funeral of Music, slain by his orders. 'I approve their piety,' he replied, 'but let her be buried deep and never be heard again'

The orthodox Mahomedan objection to the representation of living things had been over-ruled by Akbar, who wrote ;—‘ There are many that hate painting, but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God ’ But this was all changed under the rule of Aurangzib. In the palaces of Akbar at Fatehpur-Sikri are many marble sculptures of animals and plants; but these have all been defaced and mutilated by Aurangzib. In fact, for the first time in their history the Moghuls beheld a rigid Moslem in their King.

He knew fully the dangerous path he was pursuing; the Rajput princes only wanted to be left alone, the Deccan would never have troubled him, yet he ran counter to every Hindu sentiment, he alienated his Persian adherents, and disgusted his own nobles.

His training had been bad, his education neglected, or, at least, left entirely to schoolmasters, inevitably a narrow-minded caste. The following letter, which he wrote to one of his former masters, might well be posted in many a school to-day :—

‘ Was it not incumbent on you to make me acquainted with the distinguishing features of every nation of the earth; its resources and strength, its manners, religion, form of government, and wherein its interests principally consist, and, by a regular course of historical reading, to render me familiar with the origin of states, their progress and decline ?

. . . A familiarity with the language of surrounding nations is indispensable, but you would teach me to read and write Arabic, doubtless conceiving that you placed me under an everlasting obligation for sacrificing so large a portion of time to the study of a language wherein no one can hope to become proficient without ten or twelve years of close application.

‘ Forgetting how many subjects ought to be embraced in education, you acted as if it were chiefly necessary that I should possess great skill in grammar and such knowledge

as belongs to a doctor of law Thus did you waste the precious hours of my youth Happy for me that I consulted wiser heads than thine. Go! Withdraw to a village Henceforth let no man know either who thou art or what is become of thee.'

The last twenty-six years of Aurangzib's life were occupied with fruitless warfare, principally in the Deccan against the Mahrattas, who kept up an interminable guerilla war from their forts amongst the rocks and forests of the Ghats. They were a hard-fighting race, while as for the Moghuls, generations of luxury had ruined their manliness Aurangzib had also alienated the Rajputs, who could not be counted on to fight against their Hindu brethren, the Mahrattas

Towards the end of his reign the Rajputs were in open rebellion, the Jats had risen at Agra, the Sikhs at Multan, the Deccan was a smoking desert, the army demoralised, the finances in hopeless confusion All his plans had failed

The end of his life was gloomy, the fate of Shahjahan preyed upon his mind, he trusted not a soul. Living in dread of poison, he had, of course, a taster, some say his daughter, his doctor had to take dose for dose. His eldest son had been imprisoned for life, the others for many years.

'The art of reigning is so delicate, that a king must be jealous of his own shadow,' he wrote to one of his sons 'Be wise, lest a fate like your brothers befall you also'

On his deathbed he wrote—

'I know not why I am or wherefore I came into the world. . I have not done well by the country or its people. My years have gone by profitless. Life is transient, the lost moment never returns, there is no hope for me in the future. The fever is gone; but only skin and dried flesh is mine. . The army is confounded and without heart, even as I am Strange that I brought nothing into the world, and now go away with a stupendous caravan of sin . I know not what punishment may be

in store for me to suffer. . . . Come what will, I have launched my bark upon the waters. . . . Farewell! Farewell!

Diplomatic, suspicious, double-dealing to the end, his last letter was to his youngest son.

‘Son nearest to my heart! the agonies of death come upon me fast. Wherever I look I see nothing but the Divinity I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, *it was done for you.*’

Under his pillow was found a will in which he appoints his eldest son Emperor, gives the second Agra and Bengal, while the son ‘nearest his heart’ was given a doubtful kingship in the south.

The Great Puritan of India died in 1707, in his eighty-ninth year, his last instructions being to ‘carry this creature of dust to the nearest burial-place, and lay him in the earth with no useless coffin.’

Aurangzib’s last act was to grant to an Englishman, one Job Charnock, a strip of land along the Hugh on which was situated the village of Calcutta. Bombay had long since passed to Great Britain as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza.

SUCCESSORS OF AURANGZIB

AURANGZIB was the last of the *Great* Moghuls. Under a long succession of incapable rulers the power of the Moghuls declined, and, as it did so, the power of the East India Company increased. The Afghans and Persians invaded from the north, the Mahrattas from the south.

The wars between the French and English destroyed the last vestige of the Delhi authority in Southern India.

Bengal, Behar, and Orissa were handed over by an imperial grant to the British as nominees of the Emperor, but in fact the Afghans, by the battle of Panipat, had reduced the imperial throne to a shadow, and the final wars of Great Britain for the conquest of India were not with the Mahomedans or Moghuls, but with the two Hindu confederacies, the Marathas and the Sikhs.

THE LAST EMPEROR.

THE last of the Moghul Emperors was the old King of Delhi, the puppet figure-head of the Mutiny. He had three sons, who, after being guilty of atrocious crimes, fled from the fall of Delhi. Hodson, of Hodson's Horse, the bravest, but one of the most unscrupulous of men, obtained leave to pursue them with one hundred picked men, and having come up with them at Humayun's tomb, obtained their unconditional surrender.

They were bound and put in a cart. The tomb was crowded with seven thousand armed men, whose instant surrender of arms Hodson demanded, and, incredible as it may appear, in spite of his small numbers they obeyed.

While the arms were being collected and put under a guard Hodson returned to look after the prisoners. A mob had collected, and were turning on the guard. It was no time for hesitation, and the lives of his soldiers were in the balance. Taking a carbine from one of his men, Hodson went to the cart in which the Princes were sitting and with his own hand shot them all.

So perished the dynasty of the Great Moghuls; but Akbar's dream of Empire was not in vain, and, under the ægis of an island race, India has found at last peace, truth, and justice.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MOGHUL EMPIRE, 1707-1862.

THE following summary, taken from Sir William Hunter's *History of the Indian Peoples*, will suffice to show the principal events in the run of the Moghul Empire after the death of Aurangzib :—

1707 —Succession contest between Muazzam and Alam, two sons of Aurangzib, victory of the former, and his accession with the title of Bahadur Shah, but under the complete control of his military prime minister, Zul-fikar Khan Revolt of Prince Kambaksh, his defeat and death

1710 —Expedition by the Moghul Emperor against the Sikhs

1712 —Death of the Emperor, Bahadur Shah, and accession of his eldest son, Jahandar Shah, who only ruled as the creature of his prime minister, Zul-fikar Khan Revolt of his nephew, Farukhsiyar, and murder of the Emperor, Jahandar Shah, and his *wazir*

1718 —Accession of Farukhsiyar as emperor under the control of the two Sayyid 'king-makers,' Husain Ali and Abdulla.

1716 —Invasion of the imperial territories by the Sikhs, their defeat and cruel persecution

1719 —Deposition and murder of the emperor Farukhsiyar by the two Sayyids They nominate in succession three boy emperors, the first two of whom die within a few months, the third, Muhammad Shah, commences his reign in September, 1719

1720.—Overthrow of the two Sayyids, the ‘king-makers.’

1720–1748.—The Governor of the Deccan or Southern India, or Nizam-ul-Mulk, establishes his independence at Haidarabad.

1732–1743.—The Governor of Oudh, who was also *wazir* or prime minister of the empire, becomes practically independent of Delhi

1735–1751.—General decline of the empire; revolts within it; invasion of Nadir Shah from Persia (1739). First invasion of India by Ahmad Shah Durani (1747) The Marathas finally secure the cession of Malwa (1748), and of Southern Orissa and tribute from Bengal (1751)

1748–1750.—Accession of the emperor Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, disturbance by the Rohillas in Oudh, and defeat of the imperial troops.

1751.—The Rohilla insurrection crushed by the imperial troops, with the aid of the Marathas.

1751–1752.—Second invasion from Afghanistan by Ahmad Shah Durani, and cession of the Punjab to him.

1754.—Deposition of the Emperor, and accession of Alamgir II.

1756.—Third invasion from Afghanistan by Ahmad Shah Durani and sack of Delhi.

1759.—Fourth invasion of Ahmad Shah Durani, and murder of the emperor Alamgir II. by his prime minister, Ghazi-ud-din. Maratha conquests in Northern India, and their capture of Delhi

1761–1805 —Third battle of Panipat, and defeat of the Marathas by the Afghans (1761). The nominal emperor on the death of Alamgir II., is Shah Alam II., who resides till 1771, at Allahabad, a pensioner of the British. The Marathas then practically become masters of the Delhi territories and of the person of the emperor. The emperor is blinded and imprisoned by rebels, rescued by the Marathas, but virtually a prisoner in their hands till

1803, when the Maratha power is overthrown by Lord Lake

1806–1837.—Akbar II succeeds as emperor, under British protection, but only to the nominal dignity.

1837–1862.—Muhammad Bahadur Shah, the seventeenth Moghul emperor, and last of the race of Timur. For his complicity in the mutiny of 1857, he was banished to Rangoon, where he died in 1862.

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